DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 226 189 CE 035 076

TITLE	Development. Courier No. 26.
INSTITUTION	Asian - South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education.
PUB DATE	Dec 82
NOTE	88p.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Serials (022) -- Viewpoints (120) -- Information Analyses (070)
JOURNAL CIT	ASPBAE Courier Service; n26 Dec 1982
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Adult Education; Community Development; Continuing Education; *Developing Nations; *Economic Development; Educational Development; Educational Needs; Females; Futures (of Society); Labor Force Development; Needs Assessment; *Nonformal Education; Postsecondary Education; Program Development; Program Implementation; Rural Areas; *Rural Development; *School Role; Sex Role; Technological Advancement; Trend Analysis
IDENTIFIERS	*Asia; India; Indonesia; *South Pacific; Thailand

ABSTRACT

This journal contains a series of articles dealing with the theme of development in Asia and rural Indonesia. Included in the journal are the following articles: "Nonformal Education in Rural Areas of Developing Countries," by members of the Rural Project Team from the Centre for Continuing Education at Australian National University; "Application of Community Development Principles in Rural Thai Communities," by Oonta Nopakun; and "Development: A Design for the 80s," by Peter Adamson. Next, the training experiences of 12 men and women engaged in rural develoment work in Bangladesh, India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka are described. Following a fable by Olavi Junus that suggests that change does not always mean progress, an article by Joao Frank da Costa lists 12 essential elements for development. Also included are an article by John L. Woods entitled "Organizational Constraints to Implementing Development Projects;" a report from the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) entitled "Women's Groups Spearhead Rural Development;" two group reports by members of the Asian-South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education (ASPBAE) reviewing its two-country development project in Thailand and Indonesia; and an excerpt from an article dealing with the emerging partnership between villagers and professionals in Tilonia, Rajasthan India. (MN)

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DECEMBER 1982

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ASPBAE Courier Service is produced three times a year and each issue is made up of a Journal section dealing with adult, continuing and non-formal education, rural development, training, etc. It also includes separate News, Resources and Learning Exchange Sections.

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Cover Photo: Western Java Rice Terraces (FAO Photo)

EDITORIAL

For Courier No.26 we come back to the theme of Development. Some of the articles concentrate on 'rural' development and some are concerned with 'development' in general.

The first paper is the report of the 1981 Rural Project Team of the Centre for Continuing Education, ANU, Kellogg Fellowship Program. Each year, the workshop conducted by the CCE, is divided into project teams and the three main areas covered are "Rural Nonformal/Adult Education", "Trade Union Education", and "Higher Education for Community Needs". The report of the Rural Team gives an overview of provision of nonformal/adult education in the Philippines, Papua New Guinea, India, Bangladesh, Vanuatu, Nepal and Kiribati.

We also include a paper by Oonta Nopakun which is concerned with the application of community development principles in Thailand. Again this paper concentrates on the rural communities of that country and raises some very interesting questions about the way the Buddhist culture and beliefs can work for and against the development of communities in Thailand.

Another article of interest is a report taken from "Ideas and Action" of the third in the series of Regional Change Agents Programs. Kamla Bhasin, Program Officer of the Freedom From Hunger Campaign/ Action for Development Program of the Food and Agriculture Organization, has been responsible for organising the three RCAP programs to date. The first two have been reported on fully in publications entitled "Breaking Barriers: A South Asian Experience of Training for Participatory Development", and "The Role and Training of Development Activists".

John Woods of the United Nations Development Program/Development Training and Communications Planning Section reminds us that if we don't look beyond the immediate people concerned with implementing the project problems are sure to arise. For development projects to be successful an examination of all the departments and organizations likely to be affected must be carried out and efforts made to involve them in the planning and implementation.

The importance of women in development is highlighted in the article prepared by FAO as part of its World Food Day campaign. The final article deals with one village-based centre in India and provides some very practical information about its work and the philosophy behind its activities.

(Yvonne Heslop)

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NONFORMAL EDUCATION IN RURAL AREAS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES - ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

By: Rural Project Team *

I. INTRODUCTION

This paper, "NFE in Rural Areas of Developing Countries: Issues and Problems", is a result of the work of the rural project team of the Kellogg Fellows, 1981, representing workers in the field of NFE in the Asian South Pacific Region.

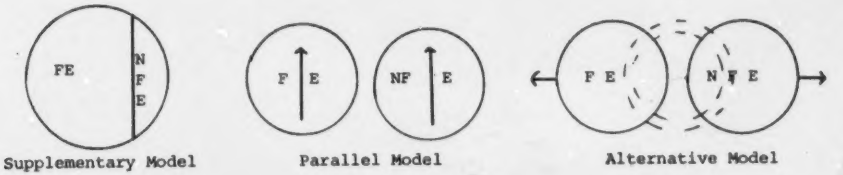
The term "education", like all other social, economic and cultural concepts, too, has undergone a series of changes. These changes were necessitated because of the changing requirements of the ever developing/changing communities. It is, therefore, important to distinguish among several terms used.

Formal and Nonformal Education

Formal education or schooling presents the picture of the learning that takes place in schools/public colleges/universities, in a set of given subjects leading to education certificate/diploma/degree. This structure for various reasons receives maximum support from most governments, in spite of the fact that the majority of the people could not be benefitted by this arrangement. In other words, the formal system of education failed to meet the demands of the ever changing society and accordingly NFE - used in various terminologies like 'adult education', 'out-of-school education', 'community or social education', 'total education', 'life-long learning', 'informal education', is being thought of as an alternative way to meet the changing demands. There are however other schools of thought which consider NFE not as an alternative but as parallel or supplementary to formal education. The western liberal adult educators consider NFE as a supplement to formal education. On the other hand, Paulo Freire, Saul Allnsky, Julius Nyerere, who are often labelled revolutionaries, consider NFE as alternative to formal education. Nyerere, while describing principles of education for self-reliance asserts that people cannot be developed, they can only develop themselves and adult education is the key to development of free men and free societies. Its function is to help men to help themselves and to make their own decisions and to execute those decisions for themselves.

*
Kellogg Fellowship Program, Centre for Continuing Education, Australian National University, March-May, 1981

Philip Coombs and Lyra Srinivasan represent the third school which believes that NFE is non-academic aimed to achieve self-reliance and therefore is parallel to the formal system of education. They stress that all NFE takes place outside the school system. The Kellogg Rural Project Team 1981, for obvious reasons, tend to agree with this school of thought.



Supplementary Model Parallel Model Alternative Model

Preference for the parallel model is because of the fact that such an approach will help in bringing about the required freedom and openness in planning and execution that is desired. It will also minimize possible resistance from those who fear NFE as their competitor. We, however, believe that some degree of flexibility and scope for integration between alternative and parallel models need to be examined and brought about at an appropriate level to suit the needs.

Changing Paradigm

While talking about development, we are reminded of the work of Everett M. Rogers of Stanford University. It is clear from his work that development concept has changed with time and needs to be used with care. Through the 60's and early 70's - industrial revolution, capital intensive technology, centrally planned with one-way communication - economic growth was measured in terms of Gross National Product/Per Capita Income, which was mainly a Western phenomenon - a formal and hard structure. There was no place for quality of life, values, dignity, justice, freedom, traditions, etc. The growth was localized and to some extent led to dependence. Growth was thought to be indefinite. The so-called industrial revolution led to serious problems like unequal distribution of socio-economic benefits, information and above all, environmental pollution.

In the 70's however, a number of events like environmental pollution, oil crisis, opening of China's international relations and the Western realization that their model was perhaps not the ideal one, led thinkers and critics to think of an alternative model of development.

"Small is beautiful", intermediate technology, required balance between capital and labour intensive methods with suitable place for quality of life, values, traditional systems and methods, justice, equal distribution of socio-economic benefits, information, popular participation in self-development, integration of traditional ways with modern systems with conscious realization that there is a limit to growth; is being considered as an alternative model of development.

The question of whom to call developed and developing countries is rather ticklish and sensitive - keeping in mind the two models of development discussed earlier. However, the United Nations, for the purpose of aid policy, define developing countries as countries with gross national product less than $500.00. World Bank defines such countries as having a per capita income up to $120.00.

There is no international definition for rural and urban areas. However, based on our country settings and experience, the following characteristics will present a picture of a rural area: agro-based economy, underdeveloped or lack of infrastructure, traditional life style and less use of modern technology.

II. THE NEED FOR NONFORMAL EDUCATION

It has been observed that the developing countries are having continuous annual deficits of food grains. With a steady growing population in these countries, the majority of whom live in the rural areas and urge for a modest rise in living standard, agricultural production in these countries must increase at a substantially higher rate in the future. This future increase can only come through higher yields per acre which involves learning about better production techniques and incentives as well as learning about farm management and improved production technology.

New jobs must be created mainly in the rural areas with mass markets which can only emerge with increased rural production and widely distributed purchasing power.

Improved employment and health will help uplift the status of women which in turn will lead to improved home and family life. Injustice is also growing intra-nationally and internationally. The rich are getting richer and the poor getting poorer. It is postulated that the general educational system working in isolation from national development has made its full contribution to the unjust societies of the Third World.

If we look carefully in the aforesaid situation, there is scope for education which can increase critical awareness among the majority of the people. These people will have to become productive and to help them help themselves to become such a productive part of the development process. NFE can and will, if taken seriously, play that helping role.

III. STATE OF AFFAIRS OF NFE IN SOME DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Bangladesh

Over the last fifty years literacy campaigns have been conducted in Bangladesh. The initial ventures were mainly undertaken by inspired individuals. The laudable pioneering work done by H.G.S. Bivar

in the fifties deserves special mention. Mr Bivar, a retired ICS Officer and an English citizen by birth, developed a genuine love for this country, learnt the Bengali language and dedicated himself to the task of the removal of the stain of illiteracy from the country. He prepared primers and charts on the Lauback model and organized in 1956 a literacy centre in Dacca. He also wrote a book entitled "Education for All Within Six Months". Later on he set up an Adult Education Cooperative Society. Although he received little support and encouragement from government and other national organizations, he carried on undaunted. Drawn by his enthusiasm, a number of devoted workers gathered round him and he was gradually emerging as an embodiment, which unfortunately died down with his death in March 1962.

The first serious national venture to fight illiteracy in the then East Pakistan was launched during the mid-fifties under the Village Agricultural and Industrial Development Programme. The programme wound up before it could create appreciable impact and the literacy work of the V-AID was inherited in the early sixties by the Comilla Academy for Rural Development, now called (BARD) Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development. BARD designed under the able guidance of Akhtar Hameed Khan, an experimental project for selected areas; he used the village cooperatives as a base for promoting adult education. The valuable experience gained by them was not utilized for large-scale implementation.

In 1964 the Government created an Adult Education Section in the Education Directorate and through it launched a model pilot project in Adult Education. This pilot project now covers selected areas in eight Thanas only. Up to 1979, the Adult Education Section had trained about 13,407 literacy teachers and turned out during the period from 1964 to 1979 a total of 259,976 literates of whom about 161,484 received third stage certificates. The programme offered classes in literacy, numeracy, knowledge of modern agriculture, health care and nutrition, population control, cooperative societies, economic development and planned family living to out-of-school adults, both male and female of age group 11-45 years.

On February 21, 1980, the government launched a "Mass Education Programme, Phase I" - to impart functional literacy which included reading, writing and arithmetic and knowledge of modern agriculture, health care, family planning and other aspects of national development. A Five-Year Scheme on nonformal education for the eradication of illiteracy from the country within five years will follow the mass education programme and the pilot project stated above and the mass education programme will merge with the Five-Year Scheme.

Apart from the Department of Education, other government departments e.g., Agriculture, Cooperatives, Social Welfare, Health, Family Planning etc. have their own programmes to train field level workers and change agents on different aspects of national and economic development relating to their particular departments.

Currently, quite a number of voluntary organizations are engaged in

the field of nonformal education in different areas.

There is a high-powered "National Mass Literacy Council" composed of 13 ministers to oversee the mass education programmes.

Bangladesh is a small country and despite the paucity of resources, is struggling hard to eradicate illiteracy, poverty, ill health and other social injustices. In the near future, we hope, she can recover from her sufferings.

India

The Fifth Five Year Plan's educational strategy is based on a composite view of education with two major components: Formal and Non-formal. From a quantitative point of view, formal educational institutions cannot be a solution for all educational and learning needs of a complex society. Search for alternatives is necessary and unavoidable.

Nonformal education is certainly one of the major solutions to seeking ways of bringing more justice and equality into educational achievements to restore discrepancies, create more appropriate facilities for learning environment. The role of nonformal education would therefore have to be different at different levels at any one time. It may have to play a more remedial role correcting imbalance, lopsided emphasis, flexibility and detected goals. It will necessarily have to be restorative, helping to recover loss of educational equalization. Therefore nonformal education strengthens and enriches formal education. It provides alternatives in content and form and it extends beyond the formal system.

Some of the Programmes related to rural reconstruction:

a. Community development programmes - launched on 2 October 1952, now a part of the rural development programme.

b. Small farmers development and marginal farmers and agricultural labourers programme (SFDA/MFAL)

c. Minor irrigation programmes

d. Drought prone areas programmes

e. Livestock production programmes

f. Integrated rural development - involves the better integration of various components of special areas development programmes for the benefit of weaker sections

g. Applied nutrition programmes

h. Food for work programmes

i. Rural industries built into integrated rural development programmes

j. Functional literacy for adult women

k. Condensed course of education and vocational training for adult women

l. National Adult Education Programme (NAEP) - Clearly conceived, well-planned program launched on 2nd October 1978 which aims at providing adult education facilities to cover about 10 crore (100 million) illiterate persons from 1978-1979 to 1983-84.

The major objective of the programme is to develop the country's human resources and enable the vast majority of illiterates to participate effectively in the process of national development and to advise the government in the formulation of policies. A national board of adult education and state boards of adult education have been established. District level committees have also been set up to ensure proper coordination and for overseeing the implementation of the programme at the local level.

Many non-governmental organizations with state and central government agencies are working in this field.

Kiribati

The nonformal education programme in the Republic of Kiribati is carried out by three different ministries, namely; Ministry of Education, Training and Culture; Ministry of Health and Community Affairs, and Ministry of National Resources.

The three ministries have been decentralized in order to organize or produce more effective programmes taking into consideration the needs of the people, community, provinces and the nation. This arrangement has been made to make best use of the knowledge, skills and experience available.

The Ministry of Education, Training and Culture provides lessons on traditional skills of fishing, toddy cutting, cultivation, traditional dancing/sports/games, business administration, basic bookkeeping, accounting, office procedures, typing, technical skills, basic mathematics and English and the Kiribati language, seamanship and marine engineering.

Out-of-School programmes would include: youth development and leadership training, women's clubs, health education, home economics and science, social education and project development.

The Ministry of National Resources provides lessons on fishing, agriculture and wildlife conservation.

The University of the South Pacific Extension Service organizes six

week training courses for unemployed youth to develop their skills in carpentry, motor maintenance, sewing and weaving. The workshop is conducted in Tarawa (capital) or in other islands where participants will be able to reach the course venue without difficulty. The method of selection for those who will go for training is based on the community level and also representative from volunteer groups, village groups, church groups and youth groups.

Nepal

His Majesty's government, Ministry of Education, is responsible for the development of formal and nonformal education in the country. The Ministry of Education at present with the introduction of the National Education System Plan has launched the nonformal education program through the organization of functional literacy programmes and other integrated nonformal education programmes.

His Majesty's government of Nepal has been implementing adult literacy programmes since 1951. Village development boards were developed in 1956 throughout the country. The organization was entrusted with the task of imparting educational opportunities to common folk providing them the basic training in subjects like agriculture, health, home science, through extension workers in the villages. Adult Education classes were opened in different parts of the country. Free textbooks were distributed and radio sets were given at information centres.

Besides the educational programme of the Ministry of Education, the Department of Agriculture, Department of Health, Cottage Industry, Department of Tourism, Panchayat Training Centre, Womens Training Centres have their own programmes for adults.

The non-governmental organizations engaged in adult education programmes are youth and women's organizations.

Papua New Guinea

Nonformal education in Papua New Guinea aims at providing the majority of people outside the education system with educational opportunities that will enable them to acquire knowledge and skills to help themselves and their communities to develop.

The structure of the Education Department resulted in a number of functionally related activities of other divisions in the department being amalgamated into the new nonformal education branch of the Division of Provincial Operations. It comprises of vocational centres, village development centre projects, Shulanka and adult education. This area of education has now been decentralized to the provinces with the Minister delegating all decisions on vocational centre curriculum to the provincial government.

The National Department of Education's role apart from inspections and offering staff to meet the requirements of the provincial institutions is to service provincial authorities in the administration of their various nonformal education programmes. Once provinces have defined their development plans, the national department will be in a better position to assist them effectively.

The nonformal education programme is promoted vigorously throughout the provinces in this country both in urban and rural areas in order to foster the standard of development.

Other non-government agencies such as churches, volunteer organizations, pressure groups, political groups, clubs, overseas organizations, also take the initiative in undertaking nonformal education programmes.

The training programmes are set up according to the needs and interests of the people. Some of this training would include,

Skills Training
Leadership Training
Community Development Training
Youth Leadership Training
Literacy Classes
Improvement of Education through External Studies
Group Management Courses
Basic Bookkeeping
Craft/Arts and Culture Preservation
Nutrition Education
Health Education

The programme coordinators of nonformal education are the vocational centres, Shulanka centres, overseas organizations, Village Development Project Centres, YWCA, YMCA, PMCDG, Church organizations, village groups, settlement groups, pressure groups, political groups and student volunteer organizations.

The Philippines

Nonformal education in the Philippines is not a new phenomenon. The programme actually began long before the beginning of this century. As an organized programme, literacy and adult education started with the creation in 1936 of the Office of Adult Education by Commonwealth Act No.80 under the Office of the President. By virtue of Executive Order No.94 in 1947, the Office of Adult Education was converted into the Adult Education Division. In view of the strong emphasis given in community development, in 1956 the Adult Education Division was changed to the Adult and Community Education Division.

In 1972, a sweeping change took place in the field of education. The

decentralization of adult education gave a great push to the widespread development of the NFE programme.

The nonformal education programmes are guided by the policy guidelines embodied in several documents, particularly the following

(a) Constitution of the Philippines
(b) Ten Year Development Plan
(c) Presidential Decree No. 6-A (otherwise known as the Educational Development plan of 1972)
(d) PD No. 1139 which created the Office of Nonformal Education and the post of Deputy Minister for Nonformal Education
(e) Letters of Instruction Nos 606 and 607 enjoining state and private colleges and universities to organize NFE programmes
(f) Letter of Instruction No. 561 which created the School-on-the-Air Programme.

The clientele of nonformal education includes all people. However, in view of the government's emphasis on rural development, its concern for social justice and its philosophy that all should participate and share in the fruits of economic growth, the clientele of NFE must be focussed on the underprivileged, underserved sectors of the population, the out-of-school youths, the unemployed and underemployed and the poor farmers and workers in both rural and urban areas.

At present, the literacy rate in the Philippines has climbed to 89.27 per cent leaving only 10.73 per cent of the adult population illiterate. Most of the illiterate adults are concentrated in the southern part of the country.

The programme thrusts of the NFE programme are:

(a) Functional Literacy - reading, writing, numeracy, basic knowledge in science and basic national issues

(b) Basic Vocational and Technical Skills - garment trades, food trades, handicrafts, electronics, auto mechanics, typing, steno, etc.

(c) Civic Citizenship Education - taxation education, community development, social work, population education, health education, infant care, nutrition education, pollution control and functions of government

(d) Socio-Cultural Education - local dances, local drama, singing groups, instrumental groups, development theatre

(e) Sports and Physical Fitness Development - sports, physical fitness and health activities

(f) Effective Leadership - training for effective leadership, group processes and socialization processes

(g) Mass Media Education - School-on-the-Air Program, Community Assemblies and Forums.

It is recognised that NFE is the concern of many agencies both government and non-government. Some of the government agencies actively involved in NFE are:

(a) National Manpower and Youth Council
(b) Office of Nonformal Education
(c) Ministry of Agriculture
(d) Ministry of Agrarian Reform
(e) Ministry of Health
(f) Ministry of Justice
(g) Ministry of Local Government Community Development
(h) Ministry of Natural Resources
(i) Ministry of Public Information

In the non-government sectors some of the agencies actively involved in NFE are:

(a) Foundation for Youth Development in the Philippines Inc.
(b) Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement
(c) International Institute for Rural Reconstruction
(d) National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women
(e) Federation of Women's Clubs
(f) Diocesan Adult Training Centre
(g) Summer Institute of Linguistics

In order to ensure effective coordination among agencies involved in NFE, coordinating councils were organized on the national, provincial, town (municipal) and barangay (village) levels.

The Deputy Minister of Education and Culture for NFE has the overall responsibility for the NFE programme in the Ministry of Education and Culture. The Deputy Minister is ably assisted by a corps of qualified staff in planning, administration and monitoring of all aspects of the NFE programme.

Most of the personnel involved in NFE are also from those in the formal system of education. There are thirteen Regional NFE Supervisors, one for each region. Each of these regional supervisors has overall responsibility for the NFE programme in their respective region.

In each of the 126 provincial and city school divisions in the country, one assistant provincial schools superintendent is designated in-charge of NFE in addition to his basic function. He is assisted by one Division NFE Supervisor. In the school district (town) level are 1,778 District NFE Coordinators who directly coordinate the

implementation of the NFE program and in the schools are school NFE coordinators who teach and coordinate the NFE program in the village level.

Vanuatu

The nonformal adult education programme in Vanuatu consists of the following:

(a) Vocational Schools
(b) Vocational Training Centres
(c) Community Centres
(d) University Extension Courses
(e) Bible Courses
(f) Youth and Leadership Training
(g) Agricultural Schools
(h) Girl Guides and Boy Scouts
(i) Nurses and Doctors Training
(j) Womens Clubs
(k) National Council of Women

Before Christianity and the establishment of the Condominium Government, Vanuatu women lived in their own traditional way of life. They were gatherers, weavers, teachers and mothers. However, after the changes mentioned above women formed women's groups and organizations which have tended to be exclusive and isolated. Many women belong to one group or another but many are not members even though every church in the country has a women's group.

With the help from the women's interest officers, there are more women's groups being organized. The aim in starting these groups is to get women together to share ideas and exchange skills and also to get them meeting other women. The community workers help these organizations by teaching them how to sew, weave and cook and how to take care of young children. They also teach them nutrition, home improvement, simple hygiene, infant care and feeding, ways of organizing activities, and other community related activities. Vanuatu Nasional Kansel of Women has just been formed and it will be the channel of the views of the women at a national level.

IV. TRENDS IN NONFORMAL EDUCATION IN THE ASIAN SOUTH PACIFIC REGION

There is considerable diversity in the use of terms referring to the education of adults within the Asian South Pacific Region. Moreover, the terms used and the meanings attached to them are changing in several countries, reflecting change in policies and programmes. Some countries use adult education or an equivalent term in a very comprehensive manner; others have a precise and restricted meaning such as basic education for adults. The term nonformal education has recently been adopted in several countries and can be a source

of confusion, as it is used in more than one sense; sometimes it refers to methods and processes of education, sometimes to the skills and subject matter to be acquired, sometimes to administrative responsibility.

There are however important common themes and trends which make comparative analysis and regional cooperation and exchange fruitful. Generally, adult education is acquiring a higher profile throughout the Region and there is more confidence that adult education has a key role to play, through the development of human resources, in broadly conceived national, social as well as economic development. There is also a growing awareness and concern of the role of adult education in national development and the extent to which adult education has been administratively recognised through distinct government machinery.

Generally, all NFE plans of the countries in the Region emphasize the total development of the disadvantaged groups particularly the rural poor. There is also a growing trend for voluntary organizations and other non-government organizations to help the government in the pursuit of the goals of nonformal education. Many coordinating councils have also been organized in the national, provincial and village levels to help ensure utmost coordination in the implementation of nonformal education programmes.

The eradication of illiteracy, perceived as a major obstacle to development is a preoccupation of several countries. The acquisition of literacy skills therefore appears as a major programme area for several countries. Functional literacy programmes also go beyond simply providing adults with literacy skills. The literacy programmes also include objectives of raising awareness of the public of civic duties in the society and to equip them with vocational skills which are needed for living and to develop the ability to think creatively and how to solve problems effectively.

V. PROBLEMS IN NFE AND SOME SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS

Policy

In most developing countries, policies on education emphasize formal education. There is no doubt that along with the policies on formal education, the policies on adult education or nonformal education are absorbed into formal education. Often such policies are developed without enough information from the field. Most national policymakers base their decisions on theory without taking into consideration the conditions prevailing in the rural areas. This is one of the major causes of the failure of nonformal education in many developing countries. There is also a lack of realistic evaluation of the NFE programmes.

Finance

Nonformal education is a neglected area in most developing countries. Less priority is given in the regular budget of the countries for NFE. This is why most of the developing countries have to depend upon foreign aid and donations for their NFE projects.

Administrative

Administrators do not realize the importance of NFE programmes in the total national development programme and as such there is no realistic decision made regarding the implementation of NFE programmes. There is also delay in release of funds for NFE activities. There is also a tendency to impose some programmes for the people as viewed by the administrators and not as seen and felt by the target clientele themselves. With every agency trying to come up with their programmes on NFE, there is also the problem of overlapping of activities.

Personnel

Most of the personnel working in NFE are not well trained in the field of adult/nonformal education. Most of them are with formal system backgrounds and as such they tend to carry the methods used in the formal system as they implement NFE activities. These workers have inadequate understanding about the characteristics, socio-economic conditions and felt needs of the clientele. Due to the lack of people trained in NFE approaches, haphazard programmes are undertaken which sometimes yield negative results. Many NFE workers also lack commitment and they do not want to be assigned to remote areas.

Lack of Incentives for NFE Workers

The adult education workers in many developing countries work under very insecure situations. It is often the case that the adult educators working outside government official hours are not covered with any incentives like insurance and overtime pay. Many adult education programmes in the rural areas of developing countries take place after the regular office hours because most of the target groups work during the day and only have time for adult education in the evenings or weekends. Adult education workers who are under the government are only required to work during specific times and it runs counter to the available time of the target clientele. In other areas, adult education workers have limited opportunities for promotion, both in rank and in salary. These problems do not give much encouragement to NFE workers.

Some Suggested Solutions

The national policy makers should have a wider exposure in the field of NFE so that they would be able to make realistic plans suited to the needs of the target groups. The policy makers should try to seek advice from the field workers in order to have the right inputs for planning. Reasonable priority should also be given for NFE activities in the national budget. The national administrators should establish linkages with various levels of administration and fieldworkers for the successful implementation of NFE activities. There should also be periodic evaluation at all levels. Pre-service and in-service training of NFE workers should be organized. Personnel working in NFE should be provided with facilities for working beyond the normal office hours and further provision should be made for other incentives like overtime pay, hardship allowances for workers in rural areas and other forms of additional insurance coverage.

VI. FUTURE DIRECTION OF NFE

Decentralization

The purposes and success of NFE in many developing countries will not be recognized if the present state of policies and functions is continued to be centralized. We feel that the NFE policies and functions should be decentralized in order to meet targets. More coordinating bodies should be organized at all levels. Such a move will give greater opportunity to the people at these levels to decide on suitable programmes to meet their needs. The villages in particular will have greater opportunity in deciding their educational needs.

Research

The increasing need of NFE in national development shows a greater need for research. The data gathered will be used as inputs for a better planning of NFE programmes.

National Development Plans

National development plans should take into consideration NFE as a tool or means for national development. Appropriate technology should be given for the effective implementation of NFE activities. Attention should also be given to the coordination of the different development agencies in the country.

Cultural Revitalization

Rural life in most of the developing countries is tradition-bound. Any deviation from the existing mores and practices can cause inconveniences and jeopardize honest and sincere endeavours. In the NFE programme, the traditional culture should be taken into consideration. Some indigenous approaches should be utilized in order to get a better response from the target group.

More Dialogue Between Planners and Implementors

The principle of development is based practically on effective communications between the authorities. This could be attained by having periodic dialogues between planners and implementors.

More Interagency Collaboration (GO's and NGO's)

It has been observed that there is overlapping of NFE programmes and projects for the same target group, however, if there is interagency collaboration, the limited resources of these agencies will be used to the maximum, thus giving more benefits to the clientele.

Developing Self Reliance

It will not be out of place to quote John F. Kennedy, the former President of the United States of America, who in his first address to his countrymen said, "My countrymen, do not ask what your country can do for you, but rather ask what you can do for your country". While we in adult education are expected to try and get the real problems solved, the reality is a slow process. We therefore need to ask ourselves not to give undue importance to problems and see what best possible way we can use the resources available to use and help in speeding up the process of problem solving.

Programmes More Suitable to the Target Group

Nonformal education workers should always obtain information from the target groups based on their need for development in their villages before setting up NFE programmes. This will enable both the planner and the target groups to come to a common understanding in whatever programme is possible and enabling it to be carried out more effectively.

More Training to NFE Workers

Since most of those involved in NFE are with formal education orientation, there is a need to come up with programmes to train the various NFE workers on the different approaches and strategies in NFE. The use of laymen and other volunteers could also be explored to help in the implementation of NFE programmes.

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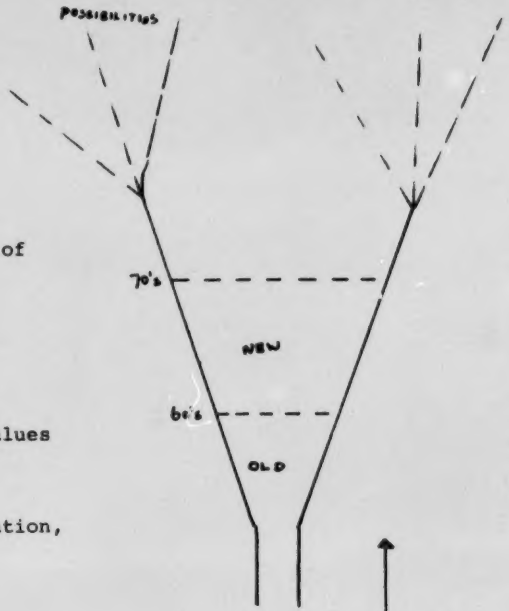
THE DOMINANT PARADIGM OF DEVELOPMENT



OLD

* Industrial Revolution
* Exploitation of Colonies
* Capital Intensive Technology
* Economic Growth Measured in terms of GNP/PCI
* Mainly Western Phenomenon
* One-way Communication ↓
* Formal and Hard Structure

* No place for quality of life values - dignity, justice, freedom, traditions.....
* Unequal distribution of information, socio-economic benefits
* Dependence
* Localised
* Growth thought to be infinite
* Environmental Pollution

".....Development is a widely participatory process of social change in a society, intended to bring about both social and material advancement (including greater equality, freedom and other valued qualities) for the majority of the people through their gaining greater control over their environment." Rogers, 1975

"PEOPLE CANNOT BE DEVELOPED: THEY CAN ONLY DEVELOP THEMSELVES"

NEW

* "Small is Beautiful"
* Intermediate Technology
* Capital and Labour Intensive
* Quality of life, values, traditional methods and systems considered
* Equal distribution of information, socioeconomic benefits (aimed at)
* Popular participation in self development, planning and execution
* Self-reliance and independence in development - (potential of local resources)
* Integration of traditional with modern systems
* Two-way communication ⇵
* Limits to Growth

"In the old model the quantification of development invoked a very short range perspective of 10, 20 or 25 years at most. Development was today. It was facile to forget that India, China, Persia and Egypt were old, old centres of civilisation, that their rich cultures had in fact provided the basis for contemporary Western cultures. Such old cultures were now poor (in a cash sense); and when their family life displayed a warmer intimacy and their artistic triumphs were greater, that was not development. It could not be measured in dollars and cents."

APPLICATION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PRINCIPLES IN RURAL THAI COMMUNITIES

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INTRODUCTION

Thailand, like many other Asian countries, is predominantly a rural society. And like many other Asian countries, Thailand has adopted a community development model based upon western principles and concepts, modified and adapted to Thailand's characteristics to develop these rural societies or communities.

As there is still little agreement on the definition and objectives of community development, or to the approaches used, by various agencies in Thailand, it is assumed here that most community development programmes in Thailand differ in the approaches and concepts used. Some agencies stress the technocratic approach, with its emphasis on technological modernization, managerial efficiency and growth in GNP, while others stress the humanistic or educational approach with the objective of human resource development. There are also some agencies, which have chosen the integration of both approaches in the belief that the technocratic and humanistic approach is essential for a balanced development.

There may be doubts on the definition and role of community development to many people engaged in this field, but perhaps for now, here, it can be accepted that community development above all is an educational process of each individual and his whole collective community. An educational process because development means a qualitative change in the attitudes, values, and skills of the individual and his community which is a prerequisite for technocratic development. Development of the individual or his community requires material and economic development, but this should not detract however from the fact that experiences in many developing countries have proven that development of human resources is the enduring and best means of national development. Community development may not directly solve a nation's problem of international trade, of building large irrigation projects, but is a means of involving and developing the potential of the common people in helping them solve their local problems, and hence, to contribute to the nation's development.

This does not mean that material or economic development is not related or essential in community development, for as Dr D. Beran has explained:

> *Emerging nations tend to measure their growth by material accomplishments; Community Development places its stress on human growth. Yet the two are not unrelated. A favourable material development can stimulate human growth, and an unfavourable one can retard or arrest it. Conversely, material development is, in itself, a product of human growth and development.* (1)

Principles and Concepts of Community Development

Community Development whether as a discipline, taught in educational institutions, or being implemented by various agencies must have some basic principles and concepts to which the people working in this area can build a sound working programme. These principles and concepts of community development are the objective and guideline not only for planning and application, but are also in themselves, a reflection of the struggle between the philosophical aspect of man, his hope, and his actual environment, the reality of life, and his society.

The popular saying that theory and practice are sometimes quite different things leads us explore some principles of community development and its application in rural Thai communities to see in what degree theory and practice can be harmonized.

Self-Help

As in any social work, the ultimate goal of community development is to promote and foster a sense of self-help in the individual and the community. This implies that the community in the development process will develop itself into a self-reliant entity, capable of identifying its problems and struggle to utilize its own potentialities and resources, but when necessary, with technical assistance or funds from external organizations.

Professor A. Dunham stressed the principle of self-help in his definition of community development thus:

> *Community Development seeks to work primarily through the enlistment and organization of self-help, and co-operative effort on the part of the residents of the community, but usually with technical assistance from governmental or voluntary organizations.* (2)

In the application of this principle of self-help to Thailand, at first glance it could be assumed to fit in with Thailand Buddhist values of self-reliance. Buddhism, especially Theravada Buddhism, is the State Religion and 93% of the people are Buddhist. (3) In the great Buddhist scripture, Dhammaspada, and the Buddhist theory of life, Kamma, is the Creed. Kamma is the eternal law of action and reaction. According to the Buddhist theory of life, Kamma is the latent power which produces our present life as a mere reaction or a resultant effect of the sum total of the actions of past lives and in that in our future life will be a result of the sum total of actions in our present life.

An ideally perfect equity, in the form of Kamma, rules the Buddhist world. No outside force can mould my destiny. I alone can do that. I myself forge the fetters of my own fate; and I myself can, if I so wish, file them through. No God or man, no prophet or apostle can render me direct help here.....Everything in it depends on oneself. Says the great Dhammaspada: By oneself the evil is done; by oneself one suffers. By oneself evil is left undone; by oneself one is purified or liberated. If one is intelligent and circumspect, to oneself alone is the credit due: if one becomes thoughtless and indifferent, the blame is entirely one's own. (4)

But in rural Thai communities, this teaching of the Lord Buddha has not enough influence to stimulate the community development principle of self-help. The administrative influence of the past, has more influence on the value of the people than our religious teaching. In the rural communities, the people have been subservient to the government and the officers from the city. It is a history of a process in which the people have lost their own initiative and have become dependents of outside assistance.

In a survey by Dr Jaques Amyot (5), this attitude of dependence on the government was observed at a village meeting.

The organizational pattern for all community projects includes first a discussion of the idea between the village headman and the abbot, followed by a general meeting of the villagers. The function of the village meetings seems to be more for the purpose of informing the villagers of ideas, plans or suggestions of the leaders, than as an occasion for the villagers to propose projects or ideas of their own.

In another study by Ruth Benedict and Herbert P. Philipps (1965) on "Thai Peasant Personality", the findings were that the people expect the officers and government to assist them in their problems. They accept their conditions and have no concept of trying to improve their environments. (6)

Dr Jacques Amyot's survey concerning the expectations of the villagers also revealed that:

If one consults the villagers of their desires and aspirations, the final answer given is, massive aid from the government, the provider of all good things to bring 'progress' to the village. (7)

So in rural Thai communities, of all the new values to be created, self-help is one of the most important. For the application of this principle of self-help to be actualised, it may be that the administrative factor must be utilised to support the people's own initiative instead of restricting it.

Participatory Democracy

In community development work, many agencies have experimented with the western method of group process, or as A.I.D. calls it the Indirect or Grassroot Approach, or in Thailand, Department of Community Development Approach of Non-Directive Method as advocated by Dr T.R. Batten of the Institute of Education, University of London.

This group process of community development in which the agency no longer tries to persuade people to accept any preconceived ideas of its own, but aim at stimulating them to clarify and define their own needs for themselves and plan what they themselves can do to meet them is the ultimate goal in group process, because the people are being trained, and educated to think, to decide, plan and indirectly acquire more confidence and competence as human beings.

It also means that the people will have the opportunity to learn to work together. In the rural areas, this principle is accepted by the people and from personal observation, it is effective, but there is still some misunderstanding about the objectives of group process by the people themselves.

In a research project by the Department of Community Development on Women's Development Groups, Youth Development Groups, and Local Leadership and Vocational Development Groups, in 1964 and 1965, the results were that the groups did not function efficiently in a collective sense, but more on an individual basis. Most of the members of these development groups do not understand their roles and are mostly in the higher income group of the communities. (8)

Participatory democracy rules out dominance of any specific group over the broad masses of people, but in practice, some groups have instead helped to create a social gap between the people.

In a recent research project on "Participant's Decision-Making in Entering Non-Formal Education Programmes" (including two community development projects, and two adult education projects) the findings were that participants who decided to enter non-formal education programmes were in the upper-income group. (9)

Also in another research project by the Department of Community Development on the Saraphi Project in Chieng Mai Province, it was also found that most participants in community development groups were in the upper income group compared to the general population in that region. (10)

In Dr Jacques Amyot's description of the village meeting mentioned

before, he observed that group discussion seems generally to be more centred on methods of implementing the ideas and plans of the local leaders rather than the people deciding and expressing their point of view.

In practice then, if the people in each group, do not represent the lower income or middle income group, the principle of participatory democracy will instead dilute the process of democracy. Participatory democracy can be more fully practised if means can be devised to stimulate the lower and middle income group to participate more.

Here again, the attitude and values of the Thai people arises in the group process. The traditional attitude of Thai people like many other Asian countries is the seniority system. It is generally known that to voice opposition to elders or others in power is not acceptable. Though this trend has changed greatly, as can be seen by the many students movements, in the rural areas it is still practised.

In a study by Prasit Phanpisute on "The Attitude and Behaviour of People Participating in Local Administration", Prasit concluded that the people did not participate in the local administrative process because they do not have the knowledge and do not understand the meaning of participatory democracy. The people are accustomed to the traditional paternalistic administration system which has operated since the Sukothai period (B.E.1800-1893). 82% of the sampled population still believe in the seniority system while 64% admitted that they themselves do not have adequate knowledge for local administration. (11)

The Individual and the Collective

In relation to the group process, the principle of the individual and the collective interest is closely related. In community development and in most organizations, it is assumed that the collective method will in the end also serve the individual interest.

"The invocation to look at the collective as a means of individual self-fulfilment is not new. 'Serve the people' is an age-old preaching by the great seers of mankind, although how far it has been demystified in terms of more understandable individual and social objectives could be questioned." (12)

Our viewpoint on this principle is that if each individual will contribute to the collective community, not only will the community develop, but the individual will in turn receive goods and services that will enrich him materially, culturally, and emotionally.

Another important Thai value which may retard the collective principle, is the Thai philosophy of individualism. In Buddhism, the Doctrine of Individualism is expressed by his reply to Ananda, who feared that the Lord Buddha would pass away before he had left instructions to the Order about its regulation, which is:

> *Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye places of refuge to yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the Truth as a lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the Truth. Look not for refuge to any one except yourselves. And whosoever, Ananda, either now, or after I am dead shall be lamps unto themselves, shall betake themselves to no external refuge, but holding fast to the Truth as their lamp and holding fast to the Truth as their refuge, shall look not for refuge to any one besides themselves.* (13)

In many research projects or studies made on the Thai villagers and as one by Toshiro Yatsushiro (1966) (14) on five villages in the Northeastern part of Thailand found, the results were that the people value their individualism and will co-operate in group work only on some occasions. This strong sense of individualism is a Thai characteristic which is generally known, and accepted, by the Thai themselves. A well known Thai proverb is "a real Thai does according to his heart."

Individualism is also recognized in Western culture, and there is always a question of how much should the individual submit to the collective whole.

To apply the principle of collectivism in Thailand efficiently, the value of individualism must also be integrated. Community development workers or educators, should bear in mind that development is a process by which each individual's personality is enhanced, and in society, the individual is collective. "Thus development for society means development of the collective personality of society." (15)

In conclusion, the principle of self-help, participatory democracy, and collectivism are inter-related in the Community Development process, and in Thailand, because of the Buddhist influence, and traditional paternalistic administration is still accepted in the rural communities, for the success of community development projects, it is suggested that education in the affective domain should be stressed more by people working in this field. It is known by educators that the affective domain is the most difficult educational objective, but if community development is an educational process as well as an economic and social process for the development of the individual and his collective community, then the education and training of people in their attitudes and values should be the ultimate objective of Community Development.

The principles of community development like many other principles and theories of Social Science, cannot be applied directly and the results be as expected. People, and their societies, cannot be

easily controlled to acquire the results as in the field of Science. The history, traditions, culture, attitudes, and values of each human society is different. All of these factors are inter-related and influence the impact of the community development process.

This fact is accepted by people working in community development, as is evidential by research and studies on the people's perception, their values, attitudes and expectations. It is assumed and desired that findings from these studies can be utilized by the various agencies, and that institutions of education can contribute to the practitioners of community development.

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DEVELOPMENT: A DESIGN FOR THE 80s

Peter Adamson
CENDHRRA Development Memo
No.1 February 1981

The optimism of the first two Development Decades has given way to gloom as technological breakthroughs which promised to solve the problems of poverty have failed to do so. Peter Adamson argues that success in the 80s, the third Development Decade, will depend on a humbler and wiser approach.

The problems of development fall into two categories. One can be compared to a crossword puzzle. It can be solved. There is only one solution. And when you arrive at the solution, you know it is the right one. The individual answers interlock and confirm each other, and the whole solution is self-evidently, complete and self-contained.

The problem of how to make a relationship work, how to bring up your children, or how to run the local farmers' association, is a different kind of problem. There is no one answer. There may be some possible and partial solutions from which the best must be chosen. And even when you think you have the answer it cannot easily be checked and may change with time and circumstance. The whole adds up to something that is messy, incomplete and elusive.

These two types of problem can be called "reducible" and "irreducible". A "reducible" problem, such as a crossword puzzle, can in the end be solved. It is ultimately reducible to a formula which can be passed on intact to solve the same problem for someone else in a different place in a different time. It will work for me as it will work for anybody else. But I cannot be told, in the same way, how to make a relationship work, how to appreciate art, or how to improve my "quality of life".

The distinction between these two types of problem may help explain why a world has made such strides in its ability to solve its problems has yet manifestly failed to do so. There is still a food problem, although we have discovered how to grow three times as much food on the same acre of land. Half the world is suffering from ill health, although almost all major diseases have been "conquered". Widespread poverty persists although our ability to convert our environment into wealth has never been greater.

The main lesson of this last decade is that it has shown the limitations of "reducible" solutions when applied to "irreducible" problems. Take the new high-yielding "miracle" seeds which promised to banish the age-old specter of hunger in the world. Why so big

an impact on yield per acre, and so little impact on the incidence and severity of malnutrition?

What happens in practice is that an agricultural extension worker brings the new seeds from the laboratory to the fields. First, he sees the relatively prosperous farmer with 200 acres of land. The farmer is used to dealing with government officials, is literate, and can read the literature they leave behind. Most important, he has 200 acres to experiment on and can afford to risk 20 acres on the experimental seeds. He also can afford the necessary irrigation, fertilizer and pesticides. The result is a bumper crop and the next year he puts all 200 acres under the new seeds.

When the extension worker calls on the smaller farmer, subsisting on one acre of land, his reception may be different. Unused to dealing with government officials, unable to read the literature, unable to afford the inputs, the small farmer may feel that "this is not for him". Most important of all, he has only one acre and cannot risk on the new seeds because if anything goes wrong, he and his family will go hungry.

Next year, his richer neighbour's higher yeilds have depressed the market prices slightly and so the poor farmer has not earned enough from his small surplus crop to pay for the necessities he must buy. Meanwhile the rich farmer wants to buy more land to invest new profits. He sees his neighbour struggling and offers to buy his land. A bargain is struck between unequals. And the result is that the large farmer grows richer and the small farmer joins the millions of landless labourers among whom poverty and hunger are at its worst.

It is an unwritten law of the development effort of the 1970s that the injection of technical improvments into unequal situations increased inequality and worked against the interests of the poorest.

By definition, there can be no formula for the solution of "irreducible" problems. They are, in short, the business of living. The main lesson of the last decade and the main lesson of the next is that development is quintessentially an "irreducible" problem. The core of the problem lies not in our capacity to manipulate external circumstances but in our ability to create and to be involved in just and sustainable relationships. This implies:

First, that development is essentially a decentralized process. The "irreducible" problem cannot be imposed by centralized solutions made in one place by a few and applied to all places by the many. The solution of "irreducible" problems depends on a diversity of approaches and experiments, on accumulated wisdoms and creative ideas in context.

Secondly, that just relationship between countries, and between communities and individuals within countries, are the fundamental pre-condition for development.

If the problem of development is ultimately a problem of relationships, then it need not be the exclusive enclave of experts, the conventionally educated and learned, who are not better at forming and sustaining just and loving relationships than are the poor and illiterate. In the area of human relationships, in the heart of the matter, there are no experts.

For all these reasons, no amount of technological fix can resolve the problems of poverty and development. And progress in the 80s will depend not on "more of the same", but on changes in the economic, social, and political relationships which remain the rockbed of the development problem. This demands an approach of humility and respect, of cooperation and sacrifice of cherished vested interests, and will depend upon participation and wisdom. This is the real challenge.

Sarvodaya Shramadana self-help movement is active in Sri Lanka, working in the villages to improve roads, houses, drainage, education, food production etc. This FAO photo by John P. Bradford shows three volunteers laying the foundation of a new house to be occupied by the family at present living in the thatched hut nearby.

TRAINING CHANGE AGENTS IN ASIA

IDEAS AND ACTION*

Twelve men and women engaged in rural development work in Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Sri Lanka had a unique training experience in March and April 1980. The South Asian Regional Change Agents Training Programme (RCAP) sponsored by FFHC/AD, (Freedom From Hunger Campaign/ Action for Development), emphasized equal participation of all participants and open communication to break through the barriers that are typical in the relations between organizers and trainees in learning situations.

The 1980 RCAP was the third round in this ongoing programme, which dates from 1977. Like its predecessors, RCAP III was based on a desire to open dialogue between development workers, their agencies and rural people to increase their awareness of the process of socio-economic change, inflexible political and economic structures and the role of development programmes. Participants were encouraged to compare programmes of differing ideologies and development strategies and to exchange ideas and experiences freely between themselves.

Certain human and social skills are necessary to work with people. The RCAP method required the involvement of each participant in the actual implementation of the training programme to equip them for starting up participatory development in their own societies afterwards. Each participant prepared and presented detailed case studies based on their own experiences and the whole group travelled to the area of work of each participant. The idea was to create links between the different government and non-governmental organizations working with rural communities in the four countries.

The atmosphere was friendly and informal. By avoiding the hierarchical structure of typical classroom training sessions, RCAP participants could express themselves on any issue they felt was important, relatively free of the usual fears and inhibitions.

RCAP III

In her very first letter to the participants, Kamla Bhasin, the coordinator warned them it would not be easy.

...."A programme which regards the participants as active subjects rather than passive objects also makes many more demands on the participants. The success of such a programme depends on us, our initiative,.....and the honesty of our purpose.

....."There will be a great deal we will have to decide together, ...We decide what we want to discuss,.....and how we want the discussions to be. We want to reduce the distinction between trainers and trainees, ...

"Among us we have a wealth of experience. .... You, people, are practitioners,.....close to the rural people....you know their suffering.....

....."You know from experience which approach to rural development is likely to succeed and which is not.....

"It is this wealth of experience which is going to be our main resource fund. We have to draw from this wealth in the next seven weeks..... If only some deposit or make some withdrawals, the fund will not serve its purpose well. So let us all try to contribute and draw from the common fund of experience as much as possible to make our time together as enriching as possible...."

Who were the participants?

Excluding the coordinator, seven men and five women, ranging in age from 50 to 23 took part. The religious background of the group was varied: six were Hindu, four Muslim and one Christian. The twelfth, although born Buddhist, claimed no religious allegiance. Seven of the participants were from rural backgrounds which gave them more insight into the problems of these areas.

Although most of the group were from middle or lower middle-class families, three were from poor households. One came from a tribal family with very little land, another was the daughter of a fish vendor and the third was the son of a small farmer. All three had finished school and started to work for the economic, social and political betterment of their own people. They were involved in creating strong organizations of the poor to work for development with justice. Their life styles were simpler than the others and their views on development more radical. While walking in remote villages during field visits, their strides were noticeably brisker than those of the rest of the group. Two of them felt they should all travel by public buses rather than by official jeeps so that they could see the realities more closely. Their presence constantly reminded everyone of the existing poverty and exploitative structures in rural Asia.

What was their work background?

An attempt was made to include people from different kinds of organizations and projects that represented qualitatively different experiences. Three of the women were from government institutions; two of them were home economists from India and Nepal in charge of training programmes for women village workers and village women. The

* Extract from "Ideas and Action", No. 140, 1981/2, FFHC, Action for Development, FAO, 00100, Rome Italy.

third was from the Integrated Rural Development Programme of Bangladesh where she was responsible for organizing rural women's cooperatives.

Three participants were from semi-governmental organizations. One was from the Directorate of the National Development Service of the Tribhuvan University in Nepal, responsible for training and supervising students working in the rural areas. Another came from the Agriculture Development Bank of Nepal where he worked as a group organizer/action research fellow in the Small Farmer Development Project. The third was from the Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD), Comilla, working as a group organizer/action research fellow in the Small Farmer and Landless Labourers Development Project. The other six participants were from voluntary or non-governmental organizations, two of them trainers and the rest field workers.

All twelve participants had direct contact with rural people and were front-line workers in development programmes at either the government or non-governmental level. They represented three of the poorest sectors of the Asian rural economy: small farmers and landless labourers in the agricultural sector; fisherfolk; and plantation workers. This increased the group's awareness of both the similarity and differences in the problems faced by the poor in all three sectors. Soon it became clear that the manner of exploitation was similar in all of them: the peasants, the small fisherfolk and plantation workers all suffered from low wages, ill health due to lack of medical and other facilities, exploitation by middlemen, abominably high rates of interest (as high as 3600 per cent a year!) sexual harassment of their womenfolk and other similar problems.

What were the participants' attitudes?

Members of the group had various levels of understanding of the causes and processes of underdevelopment. Some had hardly ever looked at these problems critically, satisfying themselves by accepting what they had been served as 'truth' in their study courses and were now passing on in their own work. Conversely, others had spent years studying and analysing social realities and knew the structural injustices that perpetuated poverty.

The differences in ideology and understanding translated into differences in approaches to development. Some of their programmes tried to 'train' or 'educate' the village people without asking how such 'education' could alleviate their poverty. For example, tribal women were lectured on nutrition by trainers who overlooked the fact that the women were extremely poor and hardly had anything to eat. In a sewing course, the organizers made no attempt to provide sewing machines, raw materials or marketing outlets. All the women gained at the end of the course certificates, which from their point of view were quite worthless. But some of them did pick up the desire to dress like their urban trainers, which only added to their frustration.

Quite a number of the programmes assumed that there were no conflicts of interest in society. They left out of their purview the exploitation of the poorer sections by middlemen, moneylenders, landlords, and even bureaucrats.

Some participants worked only with the poor, providing group loans and other inputs to improve their economic conditions. Others in the group believed that the main cause of poverty was the inequality in society. To them, unequal access to land, to political power, and to the decision-making process could only be solved through organization. They believed that economic programmes alone, without a strong organization of the poor on their own behalf cannot solve the problems in the long run. To struggle for changes in the power structure it would be necessary to create strong peasant organizations and rural workers unions which would go beyond 'economism' toward the social advancement of the poor.

Like water into a leaking pot

One participant described the two approaches aptly with this metaphor: the economic input-oriented approach to development alone is like pouring water into a leaking pot. Without first protecting poor people from different kinds of exploitation, everything poured in runs out.

The ideal approach would stop up the leaks by organizing the poor for self help, while at the same time pouring more water into the pot. Two of the organizations visited by the RCAP group were trying to follow this approach.

The group's diversity spurred great discussion. With all their own direct field experience, issues could be discussed more concretely, backed by facts and examples. Those participants who had not done much critical thinking before gained a lot from this process. They could be heard saying: "God! I had never looked at it this way!, or "How ignorant I've been", "I believed I was helping the poor when I was doing nothing of the sort".

Where was the training programme held?

All over. It actually started in Comilla, Bangladesh, where the group stayed in the BARD guest rooms. It was here that the group started to get acquainted personally, as each participant, during the first week, presented his or her case study. In this way they got to learn each other's views on development work and identify some issues for more intensive discussion later.

The next five weeks were taken up with field visits to twelve development programmes in rural areas of Bangladesh, Nepal, India and Sri Lanka. This was the first time that most of the participants had visited projects in other countries.

In Bangladesh, besides BARD, time was spent with the rural women's cooperatives; in Nepal it was an effort to understand the Small Farmer Development Programme. The group spent four days in Maharashtra, India, with groups of the Bhoomi Sena (land army), a radical peasant and landless workers organization. In Kerala, the group spent many hours with the members of fishermen's cooperatives in fishermen's unions. In Sri Lanka the group spent a few days with plantation workers and then spent the seventh and last week on a collective farm.

Living simply, eating unsophisticated food, sleeping on the floor, bathing in rivers or by wells was the norm rather than the exception in this FAO training programme. Whatever discussions were held, whatever generalizations emerged, they did so from a setting relatively more authentic than in a lecture hall or a seminar room.

Sometimes they had to walk for a long time to get to their destination. Meeting tribal groups in Maharashtra meant trudging for 16 to 19 kilometres on foot under the Indian mid-day sun. To reach a collective farm in Sri Lanka they had to go across 13 kilometres of hilly terrain. For many participants this caused blisters, body aches, and in one case, fever from fatigue.

But walking in the countryside at the pace of the village-folk gives one a qualitatively different view of the life and problems faced by the people, than when one goes flashing past the people in a fast vehicle. While walking, it is easier to understand what it means for the village women to trudge long distances to fetch water and fuel wood, or what it means to walk for many kilometres to earn a daily wage of 3 or 4 rupees - not even enough to buy food to supply the calories for the walk or eight hours of labour. One could feel what it means to live below what is statistically referred to as a poverty line.

The informality and self-management of the group

One feature of the programme was to create an atmosphere in which all participants felt at ease. From the beginning there was no formal inauguration with speeches, photographs and tea parties.

The participants first came together in a small Dacca hotel with everyone sitting around on beds, chairs and the floor. After a question period the coordinator explained that nothing had been predetermined save how much time would be spent in each country so that travel arrangements would be assured. The members of the group were to work out by themselves the details of the programme in each country.

To enhance the equality of the members the coordinator arranged only financing and transport matters and for the rest of the time, she was a regular participant. The group decided each day when the meetings were to start and finish. They also decided that the chairing of the meetings would be rotated every day among the members, in alphabetical order.

Although each day was long - the group often worked over ten hours a day - the need for the equal participation of each member kept up people's interest. Once the group decided to do something, the clock's hands were usually ignored until the job was done.

Presentation of case studies

About two months before the programme started, the participants had written personal case studies as a prerequisite to participating in RCAP III. Each member then received a full set of the case studies so he or she could get some idea of the viewpoints and background of the other participants before starting. The case study consisted of the participants' personal background, education and training, motivation for development work, the nature of their work and the organization they were involved in, and their links with other similar organizations.

The first week of the programme group members listened to the various case studies and asked questions about them. Through the many questions that were raised, some of the participants realized that the views they held were not based on adequate study, reflection and analysis. One of the participants had written in her case study that through her programme she was trying to help thousands of poor women. When she was asked to explain in detail how this was being done she realized that actually her programme had helped hardly any poor woman. Similarly, another participant had written that there was no relation between politics and development. With the help of questions from others and examples given by them, he soon realized that politics and development were intricately related.

The section in the case study about the personal life of participants made everyone conscious of the fact that it is not possible to separate personal from work life, especially if one considers one's work as a vocation rather than just a job. For many participants in the group there were no separate hours of work or leisure. Sometimes they worked day and night. One of the women participants said she had not got married because she wanted to devote all her time to working with the poor. This led to a long, heated discussion about the husband-wife relationship in marriage and how it helps or hinders one's work.

Visiting each other's area of work

While visiting field projects the participants were divided into two, three or four groups so that discussions were among a few people only and the group could see more activities.

On the spot the participants saw the physical structures and facilities of the different projects/organizations. They could see the

relationships that existed between the different organization workers, between the workers and the people and the level of formality or informality in the work. Different styles of work are visible. Some organizations received large amounts of aid, normally from foreign funding agencies, and had big office buildings and vehicles. Two organizations had a policy of not receiving foreign funds or big grants from any one source. They raised funds through individual contributions and their workers either received no regular salaries or very small amounts. Like the village folk, the workers of these organizations either travelled by bus, cycled or walked to get from one place to another.

The participants observed a wide range of project activities from nurseries for village children and paddy processing by women to jointly-managed fishponds, and other examples of technical forms of cooperation at grass-roots level. They observed meetings and talked to members of women's cooperatives, fisherfolks unions, rickshaw pullers cooperatives, staff of training institutions, small farmer development groups and activists of peasant organziations. By doing this, they were thus able to get a good idea of the levels of self-confidence and awareness of the local organizations. It was not difficult to see that a number of them were only concerned with effecting changes in economic conditions, not questioning the structures which kept the people poor. In fact, some of them still held God responsible for all their miseries. People were afraid to question the exploitation they experienced and to demand their rights. Fear of the powerful, submissiveness, lack of confidence in their own capacity to change things were still very much part of their mental make-up and the organizations working with them had done very little to help them get rid of such mental shackles.

On the other hand, the group saw members of peasant organizations and fisherfolk's unions, who though no less poor, radiated a sense of confidence and a will to struggle to change their lives. They could analyse the causes of their poverty and had thought of ways of improving their miserable conditions. They spoke of their various struggles for higher wages and to get back their land which had been illegally taken away from them by moneylenders and landlords. They related the experiences they had had with high-handed and corrupt officials.

The field visits contributed more to developing the awareness of the RCAP group than a classroom experience by itself would have done. As we have seen, the going was sometimes hard. Often members did physical work, as for example in a Sri Lankan village, when the whole group pitched in and lent a hand to the local people who were making a link road through Shramadana (voluntary labour). Singing and dancing sessions gave the group a glimpse of South Asian culture and on some evenings local drama groups gave performances on social, developmental and political themes.

Issues for study

Study of the topic of development and related issues was another important aspect of the training programme. Twelve major themes, including analyses on the causes of rural poverty, and roles of the various protagonists were identified and intensively discussed during the last week of the programme. Class and caste distinctions in society, the relationship between development and politics and the role of women in the development process were also among the special topics.

Living together as a group

The seven weeks together were also considered as an experiment of people from different countries, cultures and backgrounds living together. Despite differences, the group went through the programme without too much conflict or tension. Whatever tensions did develop were discussed and sorted out before they could become harmful.

Everyone shared the responsibility for different tasks like arranging for food, carrying luggage, and cleaning. Two days after the programme started the group decided to organize a fund for group expenses. The communal experience was on the whole successful and the group even got to know each other's families. While visiting different countries, local participants invited the whole group home for a meal or a snack.

On-going evaluation

An on-going evaluation process kept the group on the right track and assured that satisfactory progress was being made. After every field visit the group also evaluated the success of the visit, its organization and the amount of interaction with the rural population. This helped in the planning of the next project visits. In the beginning, some participants found it difficult to formulate and articulate their ideas but they gradually made progress by listening to the others.

Final evaluation lasted about two full days. A list of points to be examined was drawn up and each participant wrote his/her personal evaluation and presented it to the others. Each point was then discussed by the entire group, from individual to group evaluation.

By and large the participants found the training to be a stimulating, worthwhile experience. Most of them said they had learned a more participatory and democratic method of learning and working together. Some participants felt they had become more analytical in their approach and had a broader perspective of development. They strongly recommended that more such programmes be held for field-level workers.

Plans for a follow-up

The last day of the programme was spent by the participants making plans about applying the RCAP III experiences in their own work pro-

grammes. They said they would change their methodology training to make them more participatory, or concentrate more on organizing the rural poor as strong pressure groups. However, the real success of the RCAP will be the degree of actual change which occurs in the every day work of those who participated. It remains to be seen what FFHC/AD can do to help and support the participants in bringing about the desired changes.

Now, with the third round of FFHC/AD's regional training programme over, it is evident that there are plenty of possibilities for similar programmes being held at both the regional and national level. Many more barriers need to be broken, between the groups of varying persuasions and in conventional training methods. RCAP shows that enough enthusiasm exists in the area to continue attempts to make development work more relevant, egalitarian and participatory.

A Fable: from U-landsagor by Olavi Junus, Prisma, Stockholm, 1970, quoted by Glyn Roberts, Alverstoke, 1974.

From this Fable, one thing at least seems clear: change does not always mean progress!

A FABLE

First of all, a story. This is based on fact, as with the other examples to come.

"The Experts arrived at the fishing village. For years the natives had used primitive techniques in their work. True, they caught fish, but they had to paddle out to sea every day, maybe even on feast days. It was a hard life, though well-tried over the years.

The new nets were rather dearer than the old, and the method of fishing was different too. But in a single net they caught a whole week's supply. Fantastic! You could work one day and be free for the rest of the week! The village folk had a great feast, several feasts.....in fact so many that they had to fish two days each week to pay for the celebrations.
This is no good, thought the Experts, they should be fishing six days a week and making money out of it. We haven't come here to witness endless parties. Surely it's enough with one feast a month. This is an under-developed country; they must produce more proteins. Fish!

But the village favoured fiesta. Fishing two days, and free the rest of the week.

The Experts grew annoyed. They hadn't travelled from the distant North to watch natives drum, dance and dream. They had come to fill hungry stomachs, to lessen the threat of the undernourished against the overfed. Yet the villagers danced late into the night. Why shouldn't they? They were rich now, almost as rich as the Maharaja, though he had never done a day's work in his life.....

And then the Project Director had a brilliant idea. (Not for nothing had he taken an evening course back home in economics.) These lazy fisherfolk were not actually lazy: they were simply weak, on motivation, motivation to work harder. They had not discovered their needs.

He bribed a villager to buy a motorbike. Bribery was distasteful, but sometimes necessary. True, there were no roads as such, but the wet sand along the water's edge was hard and smooth....

The motorcycle roared back and forth. What a toy! And soon every young man wanted one of his own. The village elders warned them:

What use is there in riding far off and back again on the sand?
But the young men replied:
We can race. We shall see who is the fastest. And you grey-beards, you can place bets on us!

The Project Director's idea proved a brilliant success. At last the men fished almost every day. The capital city got the fresh fish it needed. (Indeed, a large part is now turned into fish-meal and exported to Europe where it makes excellent pig food and helps keep down the price of bacon.)

But probably most pleased of all was the Maharaja, for it so happens that he was the sole agent for the motorcycle firm in that country. He also owned the main fish market in the city, while his uncle's family built and ran the fish-meal factory. When the Experts flew home he raised the price of a motorcycle, so that to buy one a man must work three years, instead of a single season.

And the fishermen fished on. They had discovered a need."

TWELVE "MUSTS" FOR DEVELOPMENT

by Joao Frank da Costa

There is today a widespread consensus that the traditional concept of development, which focused primarily on economic growth, needs to be redefined. A new concept of development is emerging, which might be summed up in the following twelve "musts".

1. *Development must be total.* That is to say it must transcend purely economic dimensions in order to include social considerations - food, health, living conditions and employment - and the whole dimension of cultural and spiritual self-realization embracing creativity, quality of life, and the rights of man.

2. *Development must be original*, which is to say that imitation of models is undesirable. This means that styles of development should not only be diverse and respond to country-specific economic and current social structures, natural and human environment and cultural integrity, but should also be in accordance with the objectives of each country and the way it perceives its own future. In this sense, the notion of "gap" between developed and developing countries acquires a different significance. Without rejecting the objective of reducing sharp contrasts in standards of living; one should strive to abandon the limited concept of "gap" which is usually somewhat negatively defined on the basis of external indicators and instead substitute a positive and voluntary strategy of development.

3. *Development must be self-determined.* This applies not only to the capacity for selecting a development style, but also must assure its application in order to eliminate or at least reduce dependency and vulnerability, to unify and amplify internal markets and to ensure the production of basic foodstuffs and goods.

4. *Development must be self-generated.* This should not mean that full self-reliance can be achieved by national effort alone. Often, indeed in most instances, self-reliance is achieved on a larger scale than that of an individual nation, within a broader framework, either "horizontally" by co-operation among developing countries, or in a "triangular" pattern, that is to say, with the added participation of the developed countries. In this sense, development must be co-operative.

5. *Development must be integrated.* "Truncated" growth of certain sectors - usually the consequence of redeployment policies of transnational corporations - does not correspond to real development and causes growing dependency and vulnerability. Strong horizontal and vertical linkages must bind together the several productive units (in particular between the agricultural and the industrial sectors) and ensure complete communication and interdependence, and full integration with national supply and demand.

6. *Development must respect the integrity of the environment,* both natural and cultural, as well as the traditional structures which are often necessary for the conservation of a country's social cohesion. This includes the safeguarding of the national heritage and protection against all forms of imposed alien values.

7. *Development must be planned* and requires constant attention from and intervention by national authorities. This does not mean, of course, the mandatory exclusion of private interest and free market mechanisms. It appears, however, to be generally accepted that the free play of economic forces does not automatically lead to an equitable diffusion of scientific and technological potential, but instead, it leads frequently to concentration and polarization of capabilities and benefits in highly developed centres. The alignment of the interests of private enterprise with national objectives needs to be ensured by appropriate mechanisms.

8. *Development must be directed towards a just and equitable social order* which requires for its establishment, in general, structural transformations allowing for the participation by all sectors of the population in the benefits of science and technology, and not only in their negative effects. In developing countries, it is necessary in particular to eliminate the dichotomy of demand that may exist where elites have consumption patterns similar to those in highly developed countries, in contrast to a mass which does not participate in the market for lack of purchasing power.

9. *Development must be democratic*, that is to say, it must respond to the choices made by the population as a whole. The idea that technological decisions are dictated by an internal scientific-technological logic and are self-executory must be categorically rejected. The goals of society are not purely scientific or technological and scientific and technological considerations must not be allowed to impose their control. This problem involves nothing less than the freedom of mankind to determine its own destiny.

10. *Development must not insulate less developed countries or regions into "reservations"*, where they would barely survive and lead a marginal life far from the main flows of growth and dynamism. On the contrary, it should make them all participate actively in a new optimal division of labour which is at the heart of the objectives of the New International Economic Order. Particularly, such a new division of labour should lead to structural changes in developed countries which would promote expansion into new types of productive activities. This requires a reconceptualization of development and the design of measures that can only be conceived in a long range perspective.

11. *Development must be innovative.* It must neither depend on the importation of outmoded technologies from developed countries nor even advanced technology developed somewhere else. Only the mastery of world scientific knowledge, including the knowledge which for economic reasons has never been applied in developed countries, can

assure an original, creative technological development.

12. *Development planning must be based on a realistic definition of national needs* and on consumption models that are consistent with the national characteristics of a country including its resources, gross national product, capacity of accumulation, and the possibilities of integrated interaction of science and technology with production activities.

[Reproduced from the *Unesco Courier*, November, 1979.]

ORGANIZATIONAL CONSTRAINTS TO IMPLEMENTING DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

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In drafting project proposals, probably the least amount of effort is devoted to the section entitled "Institutional Framework". There are generally few details given beyond the general explanation of the government unit which is responsible for implementing the project. This is unfortunate because some of the most serious problems in implementing many development projects revolve around organizational constraints rather than technology, resource availability, or even getting development messages to the intended beneficiaries.

During the past few years, I have had a chance to discuss problems of implementing development projects with many government project managers and international advisers. They almost always indicate that many of their major frustrations revolve around getting the various organizational units to provide support to the project. The government project managers often complain about not getting sufficient policy level support of their programme, cooperation from other departments, and the lack of capability of the field staff. The international advisers often complain about the Civil Service Commission (Establishments) not providing counterparts at the right time or of sufficient quality, duplication of efforts being made by different departments and their unwillingness to cooperate, and the absence of technical inputs from other agencies such as universities.

A few years ago while doing a social system analysis of a development project I discovered that the primary blockage to the success of a soil testing laboratory project was the ministry storekeeper's unwillingness to provide sufficient amounts of chemicals and test tubes. In almost any development project, there are many organizational units which in one way or other can block the forward movement of project implementation. Even though each represents a government or non-government unit they are all made up of people. Therefore, this discussion paper suggests a need for a social system analysis of the organizational infrastructure of a development project.

There are four activities which must be done for this type of analysis:

1. Identify all the organizational units which can influence the development project.
2. Analyze the role of each in terms of how it might advance or retard the implementation of the development project.
3. Study the linkages between all of the units and locate where they are in relationship to the unit responsible for implementing the development project. Many of the units will be several steps removed from direct contact with the primary implementing unit.
4. Anticipate the problems that may come about in the linkages between all of the units during implementation of this project. Study these potential problems to determine if they are structural (Should the organizational structure be changed?); political (Can anything be done about this?); technical (Is the right type of subject matter coming from the correct source?); method of communication (Is there a need for more formal and informal communication channels?); staff capability (Is there a need for staff training and orientation to overcome the problems?); etc.

Table one gives an example of a social system analysis of the development project showing at least some of the organizational units. This will give the reader some idea of the complexity, in social system terms, of implementing a development project. In many cases, one of these organizational units can block the forward movement of a project. This table is intended only to illustrate the types of units that may be involved. For any actual development project there could be many more separate units involved. Most of the units involved in a development project can be put into the following six categories:

1. Primary Implementation Unit - This includes the government project manager, his staff and sometimes international advisers. It is important that an analysis be carried out on this unit's present capability, resources, role, etc. Also an analysis needs to be done of what their future capabilities should be. The major objective of the external technical assistance should be focused on closing the gap between their present and desired future capabilities. However, as this paper stresses, bridging this gap involves many other groups besides the primary government implementing unit and representatives of the international agencies. Too often, the development project proposal implies this is all that has to be looked at.
2. Policy Level Support - Most development projects will not go far without full commitment by policy level administrators within the ministry, at the central planning unit and at the political level. If an international agency is involved, there will be a need for a firm commitment in the part of their administrators to see that the project receives necessary encouragement and resources. In some cases, there will be a need for general public support to the project which in turn encourages political and administrative support.
3. Administrative Support - A number of support services are needed for most projects. For example, the Civil Service Commission (Establishments) has a key role in recruiting staff for the programme. Of course, cooperation from Treasury and other ministries is critical. Within the implementing

ministry there are also important support units that provide supplies, transportation, technical services etc. Special attention should be given to gaining co-operation from the administrative support units for the development project. Too often these units are considered being of little importance to the success of the 'big picture' of the project. This is not true.

4. Technology/Knowledge Support - There must be a continuing flow of technical subject matter coming into the project. This can be brought about through linkages with other departments within the ministry, other agencies such as universities, and international organizations. In the case of a research oriented project this linkage would be an exchange of information. In the case of extension or knowledge dissemination projects, then the technical subject matter would have to come from outside the primary implementing unit. This set of linkages is extremely important for the long term success of the implementing unit.

5. Intermediaries - Very seldom is the implementing unit in direct contact with the intended beneficiaries. As Table I illustrates, there is normally a very extensive field network that controls the flow of information and services between the implementing unit and the intended beneficiaries. One part of the network gathers information on the beneficiaries for programme planning and guidance for implementing the programme. The other elements of the network focus more on the flow of information and services from the implementing unit to the beneficiaries. Much too often not sufficient attention is given to the intermediary personnel infrastructure in planning and implementing development projects. As a result, the field staff are not motivated nor are they capable of performing the services required. These groups need to be motivated, receive professional in-service training, and be given practical teaching tools to do their job properly. These activities must also be coordinated with various other channels of communication such as mass media, school systems, voluntary group activities and private sector. Each of these groups must be thought of as a target audience in their own sense.

6. Intended Beneficiaries - Most project proposals give only passing attention to the intended beneficiaries. In most cases very little information is given in terms of location, current practices, size, attitudes, etc. The purpose of the project normally is to bring about change in practices by this group. In order to do this, a considerable amount of information should be gathered prior to planning and implementing the development programme. One key question is if this group is capable or willing to make the changes being recommended by the development project.

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Potential Problems

In general terms, problems causing organizational constraints in implementing a development project revolve around (1) coordination, (2) communication, and (3) commitment. Some of the specific problems can be grouped into the following categories:

1. Lack of communication between the units. In this case, communication would be defined as the exchange of information, and it is of course, essential to success of any organizational system. The problem can be a lack of communication or too much communication causing an information overload.

2. There are three types of communication flows within organizations downward among hierarchical positions; horizontal among groups at the same level; and upward among the hierarchical ladder. In most governmental organizations the primary flow of functional communication is downward along the hierarchical positions. There generally is some upward and horizontal information flows, but for the most part these are not functional. The upward communication flow faces many obstacles. For the most part, the main one revolves around the fact that most government employees try to tell the boss not only what he wants to hear, but also what they want him to know. The horizontal communication generally is restricted by departmental policies requiring going through high level administrators to horizontally communicate with another department. (These three directions of communication flow are described in more detail in Katz and Khan, The Social Psychology of Organizations, Chapter, 9, 1966)

3. Many information flows within the organization require two steps or even multi-step flows. The further away the primary implementing unit is from the cooperating unit the more difficult it is to control. One example is the Civil Service Commission which tends to be several intermediary groups away from primary implementing units. Another example is motivating the village level extension workers to carry out their programme which involves working through several intermediaries and competing with a number of other implementing units requesting the same workers to also carry out their programmes.

4. Many times government implementing units tend to be 'closed systems' looking inward for new ideas and all the supporting services required for implementing a project. This is a very natural phenomenon in large organizations, especially governments. The logic is that "it's much easier to do it ourselves rather than rely on other units which have not been too cooperative with us in the past". There are several basic flaws in this approach. First, it is impossible for any one governmental unit to provide all of the services required in implementing the project. Secondly, the long term success of the programme is generally hampered by the

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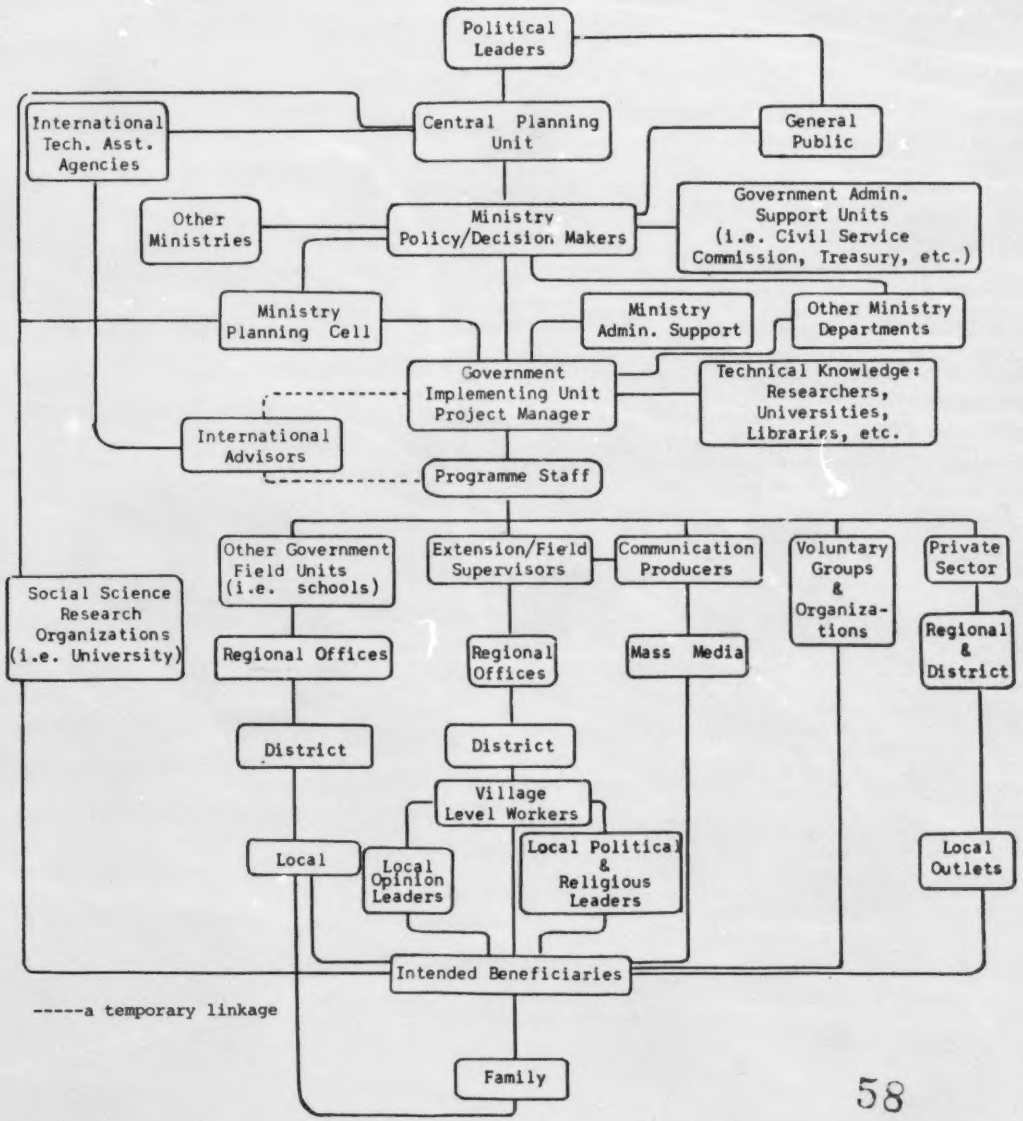
lack of new ideas coming from the outside. The implementing unit very quickly will start 'reinventing the wheel' because it is not learning from what other units have already experienced. The third reason is that the unit will gradually lose any broad base of support for the programme. Fourthly, it is almost impossible to reach the intended beneficiaries without utilizing outside groups in implementing a development project.

Table 1

Social Systems Analysis of a Development Project

The Primary Linkages



WOMEN'S GROUPS SPEARHEAD RURAL DEVELOPMENT

FAO, World Food Day
Feature (WFD/4/82)

In countries as diverse as Kenya, Bangladesh and Papua New Guinea, village women have joined together to turn platitudes about rural development into practical action. Like their sisters throughout the Third World, these women have suffered from lack of access to development resources - land, cash, material help and technical advice. Undeterred, they have set up their own programmes to raise their standards of living.

Much of the success of such village groups has been achieved with little or no help from outside. Some of them are completely independent, others are linked with national or international associations. None of the women had any unusual skills to begin with - just eyes open to others around them and creative thinking that they channelled into practical action.

These village women understand the needs and aspirations of the rural poor, and how much the work of women matters to family and community alike, yet their ideas and energy remain largely untapped. But times are changing. Addressing the FAO Conference last year, Director-General Edouard Saouma pointed out that "For no social group is the concept of participation in development more vital than for women".

Food for the Family

Until a few years ago, the swamp people of the Sepik River in Papua New Guinea ate simply, but well. They caught fish from the river and prepared sago from surrounding palm trees. Then, they were moved away from their swampland homes and treacherous water-borne diseases to plantations where they could live and work. (Ref Courier No. 24)

And that is when their troubles really began. Instead of improved health, skin lesions and other signs of malnourishment began to appear, especially in the children. Their surroundings could have provided ample food, but the swamp people knew nothing about farming. They didn't have any cash to buy food either.

Fortunately, their situation is now changing for the better. It started when three young women from the tribe received training in farming and self-help methods. They, in turn, are teaching others how to grow food crops, to manage the land, and to become self-reliant once again.

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How did this transformation happen? The seeds of change were sown when news of the plight of the Sepik River people travelled by word of mouth to the South Pacific Area Office of the World Young Women's Christian Association (World YWCA). The office reaches out to women in 18 small island nations and dependencies in the South Pacific. It helps to support and promote their activities and, by including them in the wider community, enables small groups to break out of their isolation to share technical and financial resources with each other.

The young women from the Sepik River, for example, visited other Pacific islands, travelling thousands of kilometres in the process, as part of their training. They saw a dairy farm in Samoa, a YWCA in Fiji and a cooperative business run by women in Tonga. They saw how other women had tackled problems similar to their own. In particular, they learned how to make their new land more productive in order to feed their families.

Left aside by development

Why make a point of reaching women? The answer is not hard to find. Women, who already have fewer opportunities and suffer a lower status in society than men, have been largely ignored by aid and technical assistance programmes. Such programmes have helped to improve the standard of living enjoyed by men, but not necessarily those of the women.

In some parts of the world, east and southern Africa, for example, women grow all or most of the food that is eaten at home. Yet even here, as well as elsewhere in the developing world, women have been set aside in favour of the men by those responsible for planning and implementing agricultural development programmes.

The neglect of women is made more serious by their many roles in rural life. True, they must be helped with new farming methods and must be granted access to land and other inputs essential to food production. But their needs do not end there. Because women usually take care of the children, keep house and prepare food for the family, they require help to reduce their workload to manageable proportions. They may also need a chance to earn money in times when even the poorest rural community is being drawn into the mainstream of national life - and, generally, a cash economy.

Women take development into their own hands

Today governments and development agencies realize the importance of making special efforts to reach women and to support them in their work. They are beginning to create ways of finding out what women need and how best to help them. But not all women are content to wait for outside assistance. Many rural women have taken it upon themselves to establish the equivalent of rural development projects.

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Take, for example, the women of Gilond - a village of several thousand people on the banks of the Brahmaputra River in Bangladesh. They live a secluded life, largely confined to the house. They have little money, just what their husband chooses to give or that they can earn by selling vegetables and eggs. Life is particularly harsh for women who have no husband to support them.

In 1978, some of the women were inspired. A development agency had helped establish a cooperative in the village for the men to sell milk. Why couldn't the women start a cooperative, too? Each of them had only a little cash, but they decided that together they should be able to earn more.

A group of twenty women gathered. They each contributed ten taka (about US$.55), roughly equal to what they could earn in a day during the harvest season. Since the women could not go to market, they asked the brother of one of the members to buy them a sheep. He did very well, returning with both a sheep and a lamb.

The cooperative continued to meet and to collect dues - two taka each a month. To earn this money, the women sold vegetables, fruit or poultry. After a while, the group bought another sheep and an ox, and began to sell the animals they had already fattened. A member who could read and write was elected secretary to keep records, but decisions about investments continued to be made by the group as a whole.

The cooperative has been very successful financially and has done many things with the profits. Some members can now afford better food, with more variety, for their families. One woman bought books to teach her daughter to read. Probably the member who has gained most is a widow. Before the cooperative was established, she lived on what little her husband's family would give her. The cooperative now pays her to tend their sheep. As a result she can afford her own food and enjoys much greater financial independence.

The women now plan to rent a piece of land for sharecropping which will bring in a steadier income. And, in order to encourage others to learn from these women, FAO has decided to make a filmstrip, in which the women tell, in their own words how they set up their cooperative.

This story from Bangladesh is not unique. Women have begun profitable businesses in other parts of the developing world.

In Mraru, a village in Eastern Kenya, a group of women started a bus service - after buying a bus. They had been having trouble getting to the town of Voi, some 13 kilometres away. They needed to go there to buy water in the dry season, to sell their goods at market, and to bring their sick children to the clinic. But the few buses to Voi often arrived full at Mraru and, if there was any room,

men received priority.

The 50 or so women in Mraru women's group earned a little cash - usually the equivalent of US$125 per year - selling maize or cassava or in trading. They began raising money and selling shares in their project. In four years, they raised half the purchase price of a bus worth US$14,000. The rest they borrowed.

The bus made as many as ten round trips per day, returning the investment and more. The fares repaid loans and provided dividends on the shares. And the cooperative used some of its profits to build a shop and a meeting room for the village.

Giving credit to women

One of the greatest difficulties faced by the Mraru women was how to obtain loans to buy their bus. This is a major problem for women throughout the developing world. They earn very little money and often have no collateral, especially in areas where property is held by their husbands. In order to start or improve a business, or to meet a crisis, they need cash.

In some parts of the world, women's groups are establishing banks to meet these needs. At Ahmedabad in India, the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) has set up and manages its own cooperative bank. SEWA is a trade union of 13,000 women, who have low-paying jobs such as selling vegetables or collecting firewood. Only about seven percent of the SEWA membership can read and write. Before the bank made loans available at reasonable rates, many of the women were deep in dept to money lenders or wholesalers from whom they bought merchandise.

In Zimbabwe, peasant cultivators, the majority of whom are women, have joined in a savings club movement. At present, there are between 1,500 and 2,000 such groups involving an estimated 75,000 peasant families. Each savings club is independent and is entirely responsible for its own decisions and activities. At present these clubs have savings estimated at around $6 million in various banks throughout the country.

Typically, 35 to 45 women join together to form a club. They buy saving stamps which they can exchange eventually for a savings certificate. They can then use this capital to buy improved seeds, fertilizers and other essential inputs. The groups receive help from extension workers who, though not allowed by husbands to talk to individual women, can speak freely to the groups. In some cases, their agricultural production has increased fivefold.

Women associate around the world

The principle of joining together to pool energy, ideas and finances - and to support each other's work - applies to women's groups at many different levels. Many local groups are associated with national ones - the Mraru women's group, for example, has ties with Maendeleo ya Wanawake (Swahili for "women's progress"). Without losing its autonomy, the group benefits from contacts with national policy-makers and other women's groups.

National and local women's clubs have also organized themselves internationally. One such group is Associated Country Women of the World (ACWW), to which ten million women belong through 34 societies which are represented in 60 countries. These groups consist of women living in rural areas of developing nations or women who are concerned with rural development.

ACWW provides a network through which member groups can support and help one another, particularly in situations where those in developed countries can give assistance to groups in Third World countries. For example, an ACWW group from Alberta, Canada, saw how badly running water was needed in Kenya and collected almost US$4,000. This was matched by the provincial government while, at the national level, the Canadian development agency CIDA was persuaded to add even more.

A key to development

Women's organizations provide an ideal route to reach rural peoples. Who could be better able to promote the participation of women in development and, above all, to interpret their needs? The potential trap of male bias, present in a situation where few professional women are yet to be found in development planning or international agencies, can be largely avoided when women talk to women and when organizations exist to protect their interests.

Certainly international technical and funding agencies are beginning to appreciate the value of women's organizations as a contact point in helping them to reach and to assist women in rural areas. In 1980, for example, FAO supported a workshop organized by ACWW in Karachi, Pakistan, on the role of women in development. Women from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka discussed leadership training and how to raise the incomes of women.

On the evidence of past successes, there can be no doubt about the value to women in rural areas of grouping together. The problem is to get this message across to people who traditionally have not had a voice in agricultural or rural development. And it is here that events such as World Food Day, which is held each year on 16 October the anniversary of the founding of FAO, serve an important purpose.

With its emphasis on food production, this day provides an ideal time for women's groups at national and international levels to spell out the importance of rural women in growing, processing and preparing food. It also provides an opportunity to mobilize support for rural women within the 'corridors of power'. As Edouard Saouma says, "Improvement of women's life needs to be a constant objective of agricultural and rural development". This, of course, demands a clear perception of the needs and roles of women in rural communities. In many instances, women's organizations will help to promote this greater understanding.

GROUP REPORTS: TWO COUNTRY REVIEW

On August 10 and 11, 1981 ASPBAE held a Review of its Two-Country Project (Thailand and Indonesia) and its Executive Meeting. During the Two-Country Project Review three groups met to discuss topics related to the Project and the general interests of the participants.

GROUP A:

Volunteers in Village Organization and How to Reach Intended Recipients

1. Definition of a Volunteer

The group defined volunteers as those who perform extra duty in addition to their regular jobs with small stipend or no stipend. Moreover, volunteers must have a common spirit and more dedication to the duty they volunteer for and be active in their role. Volunteers may be members of the community which is the target recipient of development work or they may be outsiders but their roles will have to be different.

2. Experiences of Various Organizations in the Utilization of Volunteers

Saemaul Undong Movement in Korea utilizes villagers elected by their communities as Saemaul leaders. They are unpaid volunteers that are specially trained to organize activities in conjunction with village chiefs who are paid some allowance for their position. The Saemaul Leaders are to transmit Saemaul Undong philosophy and persuade and help villagers to plan and carry out projects. Saemaul leaders are said to be more effective than village chiefs in mobilizing the people since they are considered one of the community and not somebody with a job like a village chief. Conflicts sometimes arise but the Government tries to emphasize the difference in their roles.

Sarvodaya Movement in Sri Lanka also utilizes full-time village volunteers who organize different groups in the village e.g. elders, youths, housewives and farmers. They are selected by Sarvodaya workers and their role is to be a link between their groups and outside agents.

Dharma Wanita Organization in Indonesia invites villagers to volunteer as literacy teachers to organize and teach literacy to their fellow villagers. They are given 3 days of training and a small sum of money for material, equipment and their own transportation; otherwise they do not get any money for themselves.

3. Volunteers Motivation

Experiences have shown that volunteers can be motivated in many ways; by the government's attention in the form of nation-wide campaigns supported by the head of state, by the honour and respect awarded them by community members, by some kind of token or certificate of merit presented for the services rendered and through competition among each other for a prize.

4. How best to reach and motivate the intended recipients?

The group agreed totally that whatever group or community is intended as the recipients of services, the best way to reach them is through members of the group or community. That is through the kind of volunteer mentioned earlier. A good government or movement will not want to rely on one-way top-down methods of communication and delivery of services; the villagers will have to take an active role in identifying their own problems and needs and find ways to help themselves. If this is the case, then the best organizers will be the villagers themselves; villagers have to be the subjects of their own development.

5. The Role of Outsiders

The principle to be kept in mind is not to underestimate the capacity of the recipients in organizing themselves when they feel the need to do so. Outsiders may bring in new information and new technology to challenge them into discussion. The action, however, has to be taken up by the villagers themselves.

A village community usually will have its own organization. There are interest groups and natural leaders of groups. Collective activities are carried out through this informal organization. Real leaders should then be identified and trained to perform the function of organizers and managers for development. The training given to these natural leaders will certainly, subsequently benefit the whole community.

GROUP B:

Linkage of Formal and Nonformal Education

The Partnership of Government and Non-Government Agencies

Ways in Which Educational Programs Can be Expanded Without Increasing Administrative Costs

1. Linkage of Formal and Nonformal Education

In general, the group supported the concept of promoting closer linkages between formal and nonformal education and recognized that there are many ways that the two forms of education can be linked. Due to the limited time, however, the discussion focussed mainly on one aspect of the linkage, namely, the utilization of formal school facilities and staff in nonformal education.

At the field level, it was felt that if nonformal education is seen as a means to compensate for inadequate opportunities for formal schooling, then formal school facilities and staff can be and have been used successfully in many countries to organize nonformal classes. Such sharing of common resources will help to lower the costs of nonformal education, supplement the income of the formal school staff and in some cases, even influence the process and the content of formal education. Group members expressed the concerns, however, that in many cases nonformal education programs have to depend upon the resources of the formal school system, suffer from many shortcomings such as the need to compete for limited time and resources with the formal school programs and the risk that formal school teachers will bring with them attitudes and behaviours that are more suitable for children than adults. Suggestions for solutions based on the group members' experiences range from organizing in-service training for teachers, coordinating with the teachers colleges to include nonformal education in their curricula to setting up a separate agency in the Ministry to be responsible for supervising the work of field level staff.

If nonformal education is used not merely as a substitute for formal education but as a means to provide knowledge and skills that will bring about individual and community development, then the group feels that such nonformal education programs cannot rely solely on the resources of the formal school system but needs to relate closely to other development agencies such as the Ministry of Public Health, Ministry of Agriculture and the industries. In such cases, formal school staff can serve as resource persons on specific areas but rarely have enough time to function as organizers and coordinators with other agencies involved. In many countries therefore, additional personnel are needed to serve as organizers and coordinators of nonformal education.

While it is the opinion of the group that common sharing of facilities and resources at the operational level should be promoted, it seems that each country has, or is trying to, establish a separate agency at the national level to be responsible for policy formulation, planning, supervision and follow-up. Indonesia and Thailand have established such agencies. The Philippines which has operated on a common educational system from the national to the field level is also considering establishing a separate department [bureau]* for nonformal education. An interesting departure from this pattern is Korea which has attempted to issue laws that will bring about closer cooperation among agencies involved in nonformal education without establishing a separate bureau for nonformal education.

While no specific recommendation was reached by the group, it fully supported attempts to increase linkages between formal and nonformal education. In particular, the group stressed the need to recognize that the linkage of formal and nonformal education must be based on sharing of principles as well as sharing of resources. If both forms of education strive to provide education that is responsive to the needs of the learners, aim to develop their potentials and fully utilize their experience, then linkages can be achieved without endangering the objectives or the quality of either form of education.

Upon presenting the group's report to the Plenary Session, the suggestion was made that linkage between formal and nonformal education should also include attempts by formal and nonformal educators to plan together on how they can supplement and reinforce the task of one another so that a continuous and lifelong opportunity for learning will be provided.

2. The Partnership of Government and Non-Government Agencies

The group members widely shared their experiences on how government and non-government agencies have joined together in the provision of nonformal education. From the discussion, non-governmental agencies appear to have assisted the task of government agencies in a wide variety of functions such as experimenting with new ideas before their adoption for wider dissemination by government agencies, soliciting donations from the public, serving as promoters and pressure groups for nonformal education, and extending the services provided to a wider clientele. As far as the role of the non-governmental agencies as coordinating bodies is concerned, however, the group felt that non-government agencies often lack the authority to limit duplications or reinforce coordination. However, they can and have served successfully as channels for exchange of ideas among governmental and non-governmental agencies which can result in increased understanding and closer cooperation.

In spite of the valuable contributions of non-governmental agencies to nonformal education, governmental agencies in very few countries have given concrete assistance to them. In countries where such financial assistance is given it is often bound by many conditions which hamper the operation of the non-government agencies.

3. Ways in Which Programs Can Be Expanded Without Increasing Administrative Costs

It was the opinion of the group that it is difficult to generalize across countries on how programs can be expanded without increasing administrative cost. In general, the group felt that agencies should ensure that as far as possible the major proportion of investment in nonformal education should go to the target population. At the same time however, the group stressed the need to develop follow-up and support systems so that the quality of the programs could be maintained. By sharing resources with the formal school system and other agencies by working in cooperation with non-government agencies, and by mobilizing the participation of the target

* In September 1982 the President of the Philippines approved the setting up of a Bureau of Continuing Education under the umbrella of the Ministry of Education and Culture. Discussions on financing the Bureau are continuing and it is hoped it will commence in 1983.

groups, the group felt that the cost of nonformal education could be greatly reduced.

GROUP C:

How to Reconcile National Needs with Local Needs in the Planning of the Curriculum for Literacy and Related Programs

How to Deal with Problems of Teacher Recruitment and Training

The group agreed that it was neither possible nor desirable to have a single, inflexible curriculum policy for the entire country, as there are glaring disparities and differences such as urban/rural, affluent/disadvantaged etc. Of course national planners have to work on a broad, country-wide approach, but the specific needs and priorities of the provinces or districts must be taken into account.

A presentation was made on the system of curriculum planning and development in Thailand and Indonesia. It is summarised as follows:

THAILAND: The regional offices of the Nonformal Education Department play a major role in curriculum development. The regional office carries out a NEEDS ASSESSMENT survey based on questionnaire forms sent out to the rural areas. This process may occupy about 6 months. From the data gathered it is possible to arrive at a consensus on the major needs of the people. The regional office then seeks validation of its findings.

The Department headquarters in Bangkok develops the Core Curriculum which consists of:

1) Literacy Component
2) Civic Education Component
3) Family Planning, Health Education and related topics

The teachers are also involved intimately in this exercise as they are in constant contact with students. They are able to pass on their observations as well as students' views to the curriculum decision-makers.

INDONESIA: The Indonesian system is somewhat similar, but there is a clear-cut practice whereby in the event of a conflict between national and local interests, the former must prevail. The core curriculum consists of:

1) National Language
2) Civic Education
3) Religion - according to the individual's faith

In addition, there is a wide variety of electives available. Each sub-district receives a package of study materials for use in classes.

Teacher Selection and Training

It was the consensus that given the realities of the rural areas, the teachers should not only have academic qualifications but also be individuals who, because of temperament, leadership qualities, and enthusiasm, would make good teachers of adults. Primary school teachers could also be trained to teach adults.

The group was unanimous in its view that all teachers of adults should attend courses in adult psychology and methodology.

VILLAGERS AND PROFESSIONALS: AN EMERGING PARTNERSHIP*

EXPERIENCES OF THE SOCIAL WORK AND RESEARCH CENTRE IN TILONIA, RAJASTHAN INDIA

This set of accounts is an abridged compilation of several articles written by Aruna and Sanjit Roy on their experiences in Tilonia. The original idiom has been retained; the 'we' narrator is the voice of the authors. Several aspects of their multi-purpose activities, which include but go beyond education, are sketched here: the health care programme, the primary education research programme and the rural industries programme. These are preceded by a brief sketch of the Social Work and Research Centre, its purpose, organization and history.

A rural development programme depends as much as anything else for its success upon the people who work within it. These people are the life-line of the programme; it is often very difficult for outsiders - planners, educators, economists and others concerned with development but working some place other than the front-line - to feel familiar with the villagers themselves who constitute a critical link in the chain of individuals struggling to improve poor living conditions and to allow more rural people to take responsibility for their own economic and social welfare.

This study includes a series of three sketches of individuals who are village-level workers in rural India. They are in the service of the Social Work and Research Centre (SWRC) in Tilonia, a town in the Silora Block of 110 villages in the Ajmer District of Rajasthan. As a means of placing these three people in the context of the development programme in which they work, we will begin with an overview of the Social Work and Research Centre, including its philosophy, goals, history and methods. Then, we will describe three sub-programmes of the Centre; the primary education research programme, the health education and health care programme and the rural industries programme. The highlight of each of these descriptions will be the depiction of one of the village-level workers participating in the programme.

These three workers: Gopi, in the primary education research programme; Sudamma, the community health worker; and Sua, in the rural industries programme, are real people. We hope that by introducing them here, the character of their lives and work, and of the rural development programme in which they participate will become more real for those who too often feel removed from the work on the 'front-line'.

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*From "Basic Services for Children: A Continuing Search for Learning Opportunities", IBE: Experiments and Innovations in Education, 36, p.116-131, Unesco, Paris, 1978.

The Social Work and Research Centre, whose main office is in Tilonia, Rajasthan, is directed by Sanjit Roy and Aruna Roy, two social workers who have given up more lucrative and prestigious positions to live and work with others similarly committed, on the fringe of the Rajasthan desert in India.

The Centre is headquartered in the buildings of a sanitorium which was abandoned several years ago due to water scarcity and other conditions which made it impossible to maintain the services. But we were not long in locating the technology required to find and drill for water, and we now have an adequate supply. In fact, well-drilling has become one of the important services we offer to surrounding villages and a keystone to establishing communication with rural people, leading to a development of a wider variety of services aimed towards economic and social development.

The philosophical foundation upon which the Centre is built is the belief that socio-economic development programmes, to be effective, must have their goals and methods accepted by community members as necessary to their own progress. This means that the knowledge and attitudes of urban-trained, globally-oriented professionals must be gradually assimilated by villagers, that young professionals must learn to live comfortably in the village culture, and that both parties - the professionals and the villagers - must participate in the development process on the local level. A critical part of the Centre's effort is to sustain the conditions under which young professionals can live and work in rural areas. To this end they are provided with some of the simple amenities to which they are accustomed, but none which is conspicuously luxurious. It is hoped that villagers might take an interest in such facilities and adopt them in their own homes as resources permit.

A second fundamental assumption of the Centre's effort is that social change must be a result of economic change, and therefore that its activities must be initially economic, involving those agencies and institutions which can effect change of this kind. Hence we emphasize the provision of observable benefits such as water, cure of diseases, schools and so on, both as means to social change and as the first step toward gaining the confidence of the rural people in the efficacy of the Centre.

In line with our broad goals of economic and social development, the Centre has a series of interim objectives, which can also be viewed as strategic steps. First and foremost, the Centre should become a structure for integrated action, coordinating such services as water and agricultural development, health and education. The villagers should learn that they can approach the Centre for all their needs, and that the process of getting help need not begin with the tedious puzzle of finding the right bureaucratic agent. Indeed, one of the services the Centre offers is to accompany villagers to bureaucratic institutions in Ajmer and Jaipur, guiding them through the offices they must visit, so that in the future they can work more easily with civil servants.

Next, the Centre employees endeavour to become well acquainted with the rural people - their agricultural practices, social customs, medical taboos, wants, needs and resources. To do this, we search for employees who will take on such interests; it is essential to recruit young specialists sincerely interested in rural development and give them the facilities and conditions they need to work satisfactorily. These young engineers, doctors and teachers must be guided in ways of learning about and from villagers, and profiting from this source of wisdom which they cannot find in books.

The Centre must be an organization in which specialists can learn to communicate with villagers; this kind of communication is practically a constant end in itself, since it is so tenuous. In pursuing this dialogue, the Centre also wants to cooperate actively with the State government as participants and sympathetic supports of its activities. Also, technical colleges in the district are urged to become involved in projects where their skills and expertise are useful. Finally, the Centre wants to become self-supporting through its services, and to replicate itself in other districts and states of India.

The gap between specialists and villagers has been widening, in spite of modern technological success at making the world seem smaller. And it is this widening gap that makes both the problems of educated unemployment and rural poverty grow larger. The Centre seeks to attack simultaneously two interlinked problems of India, namely, that of educated unemployment and that of rural poverty. By attracting young specialists to rural areas, otherwise wasted or restless talent can be put to use. And by discovering means of communication between the specialists and the villagers, the latter can learn to identify and take care of their own economic and social development needs.

During our first years of operation, some 20 young professionals - geologists, geophysicists, social workers, educators, nurses, agricultural extension workers, doctors, soil chemists, accountants and economists - have been working full time. Most of them are between 22 and 30 years of age.

It is one of the objectives of the SWRC to see that young people who are keen on working in the rural areas go through the Tilonia experience and illustrate that it is not so difficult after all to work together. Not everyone has the capacity to fit into the working conditions influenced by the rural environment; some are too impatient and want results fast; some think they know everything because they have degrees from universities in India and abroad and find it easier to criticize than to take time to work at the problems facing the people. Tilonia has seen all types, including those who are sceptical of paperwork, order, method and discipline; and loners who do not know what it is like to work as part of a team.

Ever since the Social Work and Research Centre started work in Tilonia, approximately four years ago, education has been considered

an important and integral input into all programmes. Its importance has proved to be the most decisive common factor in our activities. When education percolated down to the villages in the form of primary schools and adult literacy classes, only those who were astute enough to understand the value of education in urban terms took advantage of these facilities. To most of them, literacy represented a world far removed from theirs, where the value system and the language of communication were foreign, if not alien. The programmes, therefore, while changing the lives of some, left many untouched. This was particularly true of the villages which were not connected by road and communication facilities to other villages and towns, and where the life style was still the same as it was a hundred years ago.

When any programme is started by the SWRC, the first important step is to educate the community in the effects of the programme. The best method of communicating a new idea is to relate its benefits directly to a tangible gain. This very often takes the shape of financial advantages. Whether it is the groundwater programme in which spots for digging wells are located with the help of geophysical instruments, the agriculture programme in which the use of hybrid seeds, pesticides and fertilizers is advocated, or the medical programme which involves maternal and child care, nutrition, family planning and prevention of tuberculosis, the villagers have understood financial benefits more easily than ideological reasons for making changes.

Like most urban educated youth, Centre workers say they had developed a simplistic and romantic notion of the villager. In the four years that the SWRC has been working in Tilonia, many romantic notions have been rubbed off. The young workers say that 'it was with relief that we recognized the pragmatic thinking pattern of the man in the village street. The arguments he had, for instance, against formal education for both himself and his child, were valid and based on logic and a shrewd assessment of the economics of the sitution he was in. There was no abject poverty of mind and there was a definite way of arriving at opinions that bespoke of a practical evaluation of a given situation.'

We work with the belief that a programme yields the best results when the planner is the executor, and the people intended to benefit from the project are among those who help to shape it. Thus the young professionals make concerted efforts to involve the villagers actively in each phase of the programme. Based on the apparent success of this philosophy to date, substantial funds have been granted by the state and national governments and some international assistance organizations.

1. The Health Care Programme

one of the most challenging problems in the field of health care today is the delivery of health services to people in rural areas. Modern medical practices are not often compatible with traditional ones, and the process of changing from one to another is slow, and

demands a strategy which facilitates the extraction of health matters from the cultural web of customs and their gradual replacement with new beliefs and practices.

In most villages localized pain is branded and bled; typhoid remains untreated due to a belief that medicine prevents the disease from leaving the body; women and children are ignored; disinfected wells are believed to cause sterility and impotency; and cutting of the umbilical cord by the midwife is equated with murder. It is within this cultural conditioning that the SWRC had to formulate its programme.

The SWRC started its health care programme in February 1973 in the village of Tilonia. The general goal of the programme was to educate the people in the need for modern health care and to extend services to every man, woman and child. The particular goals were:

1. to make basic health care available to every village;
2. to disseminate health care skills to the lowest possible level in order to gradually diminish the concentration of skilled personnel in the urban areas and spread them more evenly through rural areas;
3. to utilize all available skills and unskilled resource personnel within the community;
4. progressively to give the village a self-sufficient unit of health care;
5. to work towards increased education and awareness, which we believe are the sustaining factors in development;
6. to provide through trained personnel the necessary guidance and supervision of village level workers; and
7. to incorporate health practices into the farmers' way of life rather than treat them as separate and mysterious phenomena.

The initial phase of the programme involved extensive community contact in order to create a demand within the communities for health care services. Since the villagers' concept of health care is limited to one of relief from pain, the demand was invariably for a dispensary. Although a dispensary is a critical part of health services, it is not enough. So the medical team worked out a strategy to get medicine to the villagers through a member of their own village. These village-level health workers are selected by the respective communities and then trained at the Centre. On completion of their training, they can give simple curative medication to their villagers and refer difficult cases to the Centre. This strategy makes medication more acceptable, as a member of the community dispenses it, and it promotes community self-dependence, as villagers pay for the salary of the village-level worker and part of the recurring medicine expenses. Simple as this strategy may sound, it involves a lot of work with the community; building a dispensary, wooing

village communities to gain conviction in the vital need for medication, and breaking down prejudices and beliefs about health care hardened over the centuries.

Barefoot Doctors

Health services were to be extended through trained health workers in each village. To recruit these workers numerous meetings were held in every village where they were attended by the village influentials, local leaders and farmers. A dialogue was started and gradually responsibilities for selection, running the programme and supervision shifted from the SWRC to the village.

The village community and the SWRC decided together on the following criteria for the selection of workers:

1. they should be regular inhabitants of the village;
2. they should be men between the ages of 15 and 25;
3. they should have completed the 8th class and have a workable knowledge of Hindi;
4. they should be well accepted by the villagers so they can talk to every man, woman and child;
5. they should be motivated to do health work and ready to offer services whenever required.

Once the candidates were selected they were sent to the medical team at SWRC for their approval.

The village community had to accept some of the conditions of the programme:

1. the whole village or a selected team of people were responsible for the day-to-day supervision of their worker;
2. the village had to pay a part of the worker's salary every month; every head of household contributed an amount decided by the village council;
3. the recipients of medicine had to pay 25% of the actual cost and a flat rate of two rupees for every injection.

Only on agreement to these conditions would a village programme be started. On the completion of their training village-level health workers can do the following:

1. house-to-house surveys to obtain base line data;
2. house-to-house visits to see every individual so that any needing intensive care can be referred to a specialist;

3. cure simple illness and dispense simple drugs;

4. keep a list of patients suffering from tuberculosis, venereal disease and leprosy;

5. keep a list of eye patients who may need specialized attention and surgery;

6. maintain growth charts of children up to the age of 5 and treat them as a group needing special care;

7. keep a list of men and women eligible for family planning.

The village-level health worker (VLHW) is trained in communication techniques. He learns to use hand puppets, flip charts, flannelgraphs, a camera and cassette recorder to make his own film strips. He learns to adapt local stories, songs and beliefs to convey his new ideas. In short, he learns to tap all the local resources available.

The medical team from the SWRC visits each village once very 15 days. The VLHW collects all the patients in one place and the doctor examines them. The very ill patients are visited at home. Meanwhile, the Community Health Worker calls a meeting or goes around the village finding out about problems the villagers have discussed, thus keeping the existing relationship and communication channels alive. The team also looks out for other community needs, which could be met by cooperation with the SWRC. To keep a regular check on the VLHW, there are weekly meetings at the SWRC, where patients' registers, drug registers, receipt books and general work are checked and evaluated. This is often followed up by surprise visits to the different villages by either the Community Health Worker or the Medical Social Worker.

Dais - indigenous healers and midwives

One focus of the village health care programme is mother and child care, that is, pre- and post-natal care, infant care, nutrition, and family planning techniques for women. In order to provide these services efficiently the SWRC personnel began, after six months of preliminary work in the villages, to tap the potential lying in the indigenous healers and midwives, known as Dais. Because village women have great faith in Dais, they were trained to be useful links between the medical team and the women, who are generally the most subject to social constraints and tend to be the least amenable to change.

The Dais who entered a training programme were selected in the same manner as were the barefoot doctors, but with one additional criterion. Since the Dais of some of the higher castes were not willing to enter the household of lower caste members, those selected had to be of a caste whose members were acceptable to and accepting of all others.

Once they were selected the Dais received basic orientation in the following areas:

1. how to conduct a hygienic delivery;

2. how to detect an abnormal pregnancy sufficiently in advance;

3. pre-natal and post-natal care;

4. infant care

5. nutrition, with special emphasis on infant feeding and pregnancy diets;

6. the importance of immunization;

7. family planning methods;

8. how to organize Mahila Mandals (women's groups)

All this information had to be conveyed visually since the Dais are illiterate. The visual representation was provided by flip charts, flash cards, models and demonstrations on pregnant women.

Sudamma

Sudamma is a Community Health Worker and Supervisor of the Community Health Programme. Sudamma, son of Narayanan, is a resident of Tilonia. He belongs to the Brahmin community and is also a practising priest. His family is one of five priest families in Tilonia. He has three sisters and no brothers. His family is literate. All of them have been to school or received some kind of education. The sister who has studied least is a '5th class pass'. Everyone in Sudamma's family is married except for his sister who is 15. The Brahmins do not marry as young as other castes do. The average literacy rate is also higher.

Sudamma, whose official name is Suderlal, is an enthusiastic worker. He dropped out of College after completing his first year of the undergraduate course, mainly for economic reasons. He was educated in the local school five kilometres away and went to the college in the nearby town of Kishangarh. He has held a variety of jobs since then. He has worked as field inspector for a bank in another district in Rajasthan, as a supervisor for the famine works, and as a loom worker and newspaper distributor in the town of Kishangarh. He joined the SWRC in 1973 at the age of 22. Sudamma is representative of the educated rural youth who are eager to learn and who set their sights high. He is keen to get recognition from the village as well as from the young professionals who work in the SWRC.

After joining the Ground Water Department of the SWRC as a fieldworker, Sudamma became a surveyor for the Rural Industries Programme and the Education Section before joining the Health Section as a full time community worker. He has been in the Health Department

of the SWRC for the past three years, and still carries on with his adult literacy classes.

Sudamma has no inhibitions about caste inside the SWRC. He will even drink water touched by Ram Baba, the Harijan who works in the Centre. After having worked in the dispensary and dressed the wounds of various castes and looked after their most basic needs, Sudamma's inhibitions about caste have been modified. But he will not do what he does in the Centre in front of other villagers. He is afraid of the Jatni Samiti passing a stricture on him. Sudamma will perform 'puja' in a scheduled caste temple, but he will not let scheduled castes enter the temple where he officiates. He fears social ostracism; besides, his family survives on the annual contributions that they get from the Jats who own the temple, and they would not like him to break tradition.

Sudamma does not approve of the preference given to the scheduled castes for jobs and other facilities by the Government. His argument is that since Brahmins are also poor, preference should only be on the basis of the economic level of the persons concerned. He does, however, accept the opinion that the Brahmins have exploited the other castes for years, and probably deserve to be discriminated against.

Sudamma has benefited from the SWRC in many ways. He has been able to procure and use hybrid seeds and the necessary fertilizers and insecticides, because of the SWRC Agriculture Section. He regards the Health Programme as beneficial to the poor of the area. He himself has learned the value of timely cure of diseases. He has also learned to view bad health not so much as an embarrassment but as something which needs immediate attention. He has learned to regard disease in the same way as he would a cycle tyre puncture. The matter needs diagnosis, cure and follow-up. He says that he was too overwhelmed by traditional prejudices before to be able to view ill health without fear of the unknown. His work is highly satisfying and in his constant interaction with the people he is able to combine his taste for education with his work in the community.

Sudamma, like many villagers, put little value on time. He was often sidetracked from the work in hand by a game of dice, or was quick to start a fight. He almost always forgot the matter at hand. He has now learned to budget his time and to plan. His planning now includes his finances and work schedule.

Sudamma, being a member of the community he serves, is always listened to. He is an excellent bridge of communication between the SWRC specialists and the community. Sudamma has grown in stature in the eyes of the villagers. He is now able to hold their interest and guide them. What he says has more credence because his experience has been demonstrated. In the beginning the Medical Social Worker worked closely with Sudamma. She helped him to the point where he could work independently. Sudamma now plans, organizes, and supervises the work of a dozen village-level health workers covering a population of more than 20,000 people. He is in many ways an ideal community worker.

One aid that Sudamma uses with skill and enthusiasm is the Film Strip Audio Kit. He now knows how to link up a local story to the strip and to talk to the group with ease about water, health, agriculture, rural industries or whatever may be the task of the evening.

Sudamma has also made good use of the opportunities that have come his way. He has been able to mix with the specialists, pick up more than a smattering of English, explain his programme and work with others as a team. There are times of course that Sudamma has to be reminded that he is not the Doctor and that he is still very far from knowing everything about medicine. He is, nevertheless, a rural youth who has taken his life seriously and brought out the best in himself.

2. The Primary Education Research Programme

Like many other organizations concerned with development the Social Work and Research Centre believes that if economic development is to be a continual process with roots deep in rural society, one target group should be children. Thus, the importance of primary education cannot be emphasized enough. With the help of the National Council for Educational Research and Training (NCERT) and the Centre for Educational Research and Training (CET), the SWRC has started a Research Study in Primary Education for attracting the drop-out child back to school.

In a preliminary survey to determine the causes of drop-outs, the Centre found that children did not come to school for various reasons. Many emanated from the economic situation of the community. The children very often had to take the cattle grazing, and those who belonged to farming families had to help with the never-ending chores. The parents could not afford to let the child go to school if its schedule interfered with the work of the child. The other main reason for drop-out was the curriculum. The survey revealed that parents thought that education neither equipped the child for employment in urban areas where the locals always did better nor allowed them to continue to take an active part in the vocation of their fathers. The educated child in effect became a misfit and a delinquent, when he found himself superior (or so he thought) for work on the farm, and unable to compete successfully with others in town. He was a parasite and a drain on the meagre resources of the family. The best alternative therefore lay in keeping him ignorant of the written word and allowing him to derive satisfaction from the routine of his traditional vocation. The other important factor insofar as the parents were concerned was their inability to communicate with the school teacher, who, even if he was a villager, did not belong to their village and whom they did not feel comfortable in approaching with their problems.

In designing an experimental educational alternative these problems were given special attention. The new programme was geared to change the curriculum, the schedule and the teacher-parent relationship in a manner whereby all these problems could be solved together. The community was to participate from the planning stage throughout the implementation, so that the school would become part of the general life-style of the community and not remain an isolated building representing an alien culture.

The government primary schools in three villages (Tilonia, Phaloda and Buharu), whose administration is officially vested in the Block Development Officer, were handed over to the SWRC for a period of three years to become part of the experiment in a new approach to primary education.

Six people, all local young men and women, were recruited from the village in which the schools were located to become teachers. Two of them are priests, two are farmers, one is a widow and one is an educated unemployed youth. All of them are young, have finished higher secondary school, but are not trained as teachers. These six were exposed to areas of training deemed necessary by the SWRC and the CET, including child psychology, language and arithmetic teaching methods, environmental studies, and general matters pertaining to groups and teaching aids.

The emphasis in the curriculum has shifted from the purely formal method of learning from books to the more practical learning from agriculture, animal husbandry, rural industries and crafts - in essence, the environment. To suit the children's work schedule the school runs in two shifts; the morning shift between 8 a.m. and 12 noon and the evening shift between 7 p.m. and 10 p.m. The first is for the regular students and the second for drop-outs. The parents and other community members were involved in making the decisions about the purpose of the school, its curriculum and the recruitment and training of teachers.

The following profile is of one of the students of the Tilonia school. Through his eyes, we view the village, the school and the teacher - all of which are a part of his education.

Gopi

Gopi, aged 14, belongs to the Mali community of the Tilonia village. This village is traditionally a farming one, not just for subsistence crops, but for vegetable crops that are sold elsewhere. The caste is not a schedule one, but the community's economic position relative to the entire village is only average.

Gopi has two older brothers and a younger sister. Like the others of his caste, his family's main occupation is raising animals. His two brothers each have some land, which they bought with their own money. They gain part of their income by working - one in a spinning factory and the other in a lime kiln. The father owns no land, and his entire income is from the 16 cows and six sheep he owns. The father, his two eldest sons, wife, daughter and in-laws are illiterate.

Like his brothers, Gopi is married. He was fortunate to marry before he was 14, since if he had waited too long, his father would have had to pay at least 5,000 rupees to get him a bride. (For this reason, too, his 12 year old sister is already engaged.) Gopi's bride comes from the village of Silora; she will stay there with her family until they both reach puberty.

God-fearing and highly respectful of his elders, Gopi enjoys life with his family in his village. He is happy to be a part of the Jathi Somiti caste association because it provides him and other individuals with social security. If his father should die, his widow and children would be cared for by the larger family of his caste.

Gopi does not know much about India beyond his village. His awareness covers Rajasthan and reaches to Delhi, and he knows that India is a huge country, housing many people, with languages and traditions different from his own. He has visited Ajman, the town serving as headquarters for his district, but not Jaipur, the State capital.

Gopi did not go to school regularly. Until June 1975 he had not been going at all. His problems were many. First of all the timing did not suit him. He either grazed his own cattle or looked after the cattle of another for a fee. The money was needed by his family. Schooling did not feature as an important part of his early life as it was not relevant in any way to his occupation.

Though the rest of the family is illiterate, they encouraged Gopi to enter a night school for literacy which was being run by the Community Health Section of the SWRC in Tilonia. Later, when the primary school shift for drop-outs opened, they were happy to see him enter. They hoped that his knowledge of reading and writing would help them, but they also hoped that what he learned would mean something in his own life, and that he would stay in the village, having learned to do better the vocation he inherited from his father.

When the Tilonia primary school started a night class, he with many others drifted in to it more out of curiosity than anything else. The atmosphere did not remind him of school; the teachers stood about playing village games with students, and Gopi joined in. Not much later he found himself sitting with a slate and chalk listening to talk about farming methods, and painfully scrawling words on his slate. His spelling was bad, as he spoke Marwari at home and the phonetics of that dialect kept crowding out the correct Hindi spelling. He found that school was fun, that he enjoyed learning, and that what he learned was useful, even to the point that he could make suggestions now and then at home about proper cattle care.

His teachers demanded lots of writing, and at first Gopi did not like this part of school; nor did he like doing sums. But gradually he became more fluent and able to see the use of these skills. With the other children, he also worked in agricultural and animal husbandry projects, such as testing soil and water for crops, tending the school buffalo herd, and raising new crops. The school's farm, with its hybrid seed demonstration plots and intriguing new methods, caught his fancy. Through raising these plants he has learned several related skills, including arithmetic. He can keep accounts now, understand the calendar, and the reasons for such phenomena as frost, drought and rain. During the term many of the children have taken both hybrid and vegetable seeds to sow in their own farms. The crops must be irrigated at specific intervals, fertilized and have pesticides applied according to a specific pattern. Gopi would like to win the prize for the best crop at the end of the year.

He has learned to deal with adult problems. He does the purchasing for his family, and keeps account of milk he receives and sells to vendors on the station platform. Most important, he has learned how to think. He is not embarrassed by the presence of strangers, and he is not afraid to ask questions about things he does not know. He likes his teachers and is not shy with them. He has known one of them, Ghizalal , since he was a baby, and respects his knowledge of farming. Because Ghizalal is a farmer in the village as well as a teacher, Gopi can profit from his work outside of school too.

Gopi will stay in this school for another two years, until he finishes the fifth grade. Afterwards he will continue to learn about raising animals either by entering a technical school, or through practical work on his farm.

3. The Rural Industries Programme

Over the last four years the Social Work and Research Centre has tried to provide opportunities for self-employment through its various programmes. The programmes primarily concerned with this aspect of economic development are in rural industries and crafts. The Rural Industries Programme is at present helping leather workers to improve tanning methods and use local leather for making finished leather items. The SWRC has been marketing on behalf of the leather workers to create a demand for their products. Weaving, a local skill which is fast dying out among the villagers, has been another area of concentration. The Social Work and Research Centre has been designing and marketing cloth made in the pit and handlooms. The craft programme has generated employment for women who belong primarily to the scheduled and backward castes and are being trained in stitching and sewing. They make traditional craft items to earn their daily wages and are paid on a contractual basis.

In addition to the large number of people actually unemployed, the Tilonia area has many farmers and artisans, who are partially employed and whose energies and skills could be better utilized

to increase economic productivity. The single factor that has appeared to contribute to the slow rate of growth is the lack of employment opportunities other than farming. Although the importance of private investment in increasing employment need hardly be emphasized, the local crafts and skills must also be improved and modernised to enable them to become economically viable.

After training 35 tanners in modern methods of tanning in the village of Harmara, the SWRC now proposes to start a small model rural tannery and footwear unit with an employment potential of about 80. This unit would also attract the young educated Regers (tanners) to follow their traditional occupation instead of farming or migrating to cities in search of white-collar jobs.

The Central Leather Research Institute has developed modern techniques that can be adopted effectively under rural conditions to produce chrome and other leather using the same raw material that the tanner uses. The use of chemicals at the stage of dehairing and tanning shortens the duration of the procedure from the traditional 90 days to 20 days. The chemicals also prevent the hides from smelling and putrefying. The improved methods will also ensure better and more hygienic living conditions for the people, as the community suffers from tuberculosis and skin diseases. The tanner will now be in a position to tan more skins of better quality in a shorter time span, with a marginal increase in expenditure. The leather can be both sold as it is, or made into leather goods by the village craftsmen.

After their introduction to the improved methods of tanning in Harmara, the Regers have expressed a desire to work together, to tan and manufacture small leather items. The Panchayat has given them some land for community use on the outskirts of the village. They plan to have 6 sets of 4 pits for tanning. They also want to have a small footwear unit, which will need simple hand-operated machinery. A total of 40 families (approximately 200 people) are likely to benefit from the programme.

The community has agreed in writing to work together and also to contribute 10 per cent of the cost of the unit, as they are not in a position to raise enough money to invest in the entire programme.

With the grant received from the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare of the Government of India, the SWRC has set up a Work Centre to train local youth in leather work. It proposes to train the Regers from Harmara in better workmanship, so as to enable them to use the leather processed by the new method more economically. Due to the favourable response received from the Regers in Harmara, there has been a demand for more training camps from the neighbouring villages. The Social Work and Research Centre planned to hold 8 camps during 1977. It is necessary to follow up the training programme with strict and proper supervision till such time as the

Regers learn to use the techniques independently. Supervision is needed in matters of colouring, oiling, better finishing and procuring of the chemicals.

Sua

Sua, son of Ganeshji Reger, is a resident of Harmara. Pleasant and suave, Sua has the energy that one does not generally associate with a man of 55, who has lived through several feudal systems. He belongs to the Reger community, which is a scheduled caste, a subcaste of the Chamars, traditional workers with leather.

When Sua was a teenager, the Regers, the Chamars, the Balais (weavers of cloth) were considered as equals. They used to eat together, but this is no longer so. The Regers also have their own temple and are not allowed in other Hindu temples. Educated young people do not observe these customs; even so, certain castes will still not eat with them. In the towns such as Kishangarh, these customs do not matter, but in the villages the system is still observed and Sua will admit that the scheduled castes are partly to blame for continuing it. These constraints exist mainly when it comes to eating.

Sua is totally illiterate. He was an only son who was on the job from the age of 5. He has been working on leather seriously since he was 12. He often goes to Indore to work on making slippers. Sua is a very well-travelled man. The need to travel for his trade has also been an education for him. He has been to all the leather centres in Northern India. This has given him the ability to think for himself and to make full use of the opportunities that come his way.

Sua's association with the SWRC has been a good one. He came initially in response to the demand for the innovative use of traditional 'juthie' or 'shee' worn by the people of this area. He responded very favourably to the SWRC's programme at a time when persons much younger and more educated than he did not want to have anything to do with 'new, foreign' ideas. He then became a model for the community in that, whenever there was deviation from the accepted trends, Sua would be called for.

Sua's visions have been broadened. He has always wanted to be a good tanner and leather craftsman. He has responded very well to the programme that the SWRC has introduced to make improved quality hides at the village. A team of experts came to Tilonia to spend a fortnight training 40 Reger families in Harmara in improved methods of tanning leather. Again, Sua was the prime motivator. Unfortunately he had gone visiting on the day the programme commenced. Although the community had asked for the programme, their natural resistance to change manifested itself in their reluctance to give more than five skins for the training programme. The programme started with those pieces. One very poor Reger, however, kept insisting that the community was lying when it said that it had no

skins. The team let the matter be for that day. The next day Sua came back. He went to the 'go-downs' and managed to extract a number of skins. The training programme went very well, with the end result that 40 families agreed to start tanning leather in the improved methods and also work together on the community land to start a factory for both tanning and making finished leather goods. The training party was given a send-off and many wept. Sua is an unusual man in his openness to new ideas and techniques.

Sue is happy now that he can stay and find additional work in Harmara. His enquiring mind is also at peace because he will learn something new. The usual reason for migration is the shortage of work. The uneducated find it difficult to find jobs, and the educated do not find jobs that satisfy their aspirations. Sua thinks that the factory will be in a position to satisfy both. The tanning has to be done by the unskilled, while the stitching, cutting and other 'sophisticated' areas of activity appeal to trained youngsters. Sua works with tools that are a definite improvement on his father's.

When Sua was young the Regers had no land. The entire village of Harmara was under the Thakur (Rajput overlord). Sua recalls how when he passed through the street, everyone who happened to be sitting on a cot, had to sit on the ground and preferably bow. He also remembers how Bodhu Ram's father had to pay taxes to build a brick house. If the Thakur did not like him, the house would have been demolished. Now many Regers have fairly good houses. They also own land. The Government has taken surplus land and distributed it to the scheduled castes. The Jats and the Gujjars, whose land has been acquired as surplus for distribution, continue to bother the Regers, and often disputes are solved only by police intervention. The Reger's land is unirrigated; the only crop they can grow is the monsoon crop. This year Sua had a good harvest because the rains were good, and he had visited the demonstration plots in the SWRC. He was able to get seeds and fertilizer from the SWRC instead of wasting three to four days to get them from Ajmer. Sua thinks that the economic condition of the Regers has improved. He links this to their increased literacy and general awareness.

Sua has been indeed exceptionally responsible for the programme of the SWRC. But he is not unique. There are others like him who, although they have not undergone dramatic changes in their way of life, have learned to assimilate new experience, to improve their own living conditions somewhat and to set an example for their fellow villagers, who perhaps are somewhat more timid in the face of change.

It is only through intensive work with the villagers that the young professionals of the SWRC can hope to find and develop a relationship with men like Sua.

.....AND JUST A REMINDER.....

THE DEVELOPMENT SET

Excuse me, friends, I must catch my jet
I'm off to join the Development Set;
My bags are packed, and I've had all my shots
I have travellers cheques and pills for the trots!

The Development Set is bright and noble,
Our thoughts are deep and our vision global;
Although we move with the better classes,
Our thought's are always with the masses.

In Sheraton hotels in scattered nations
We damn multi-national corporations;
Injustice seems easy to protest
In such seething hotbeds of social rest.

We discuss malnutrition over steaks
and plan hunger talks during coffee breaks.
Whether Asian floods or African drought,
We face each issue with an open mouth.

We bring in consultants whose circumlocution
Raises difficulties for every solution-
Thus guaranteeing continued good eating
By showing the need for another meeting.

The language of the Development Set
Stretches the English alphabet;
We use swell words like "epigenetic'
'Micro', 'Macro', and 'logarithmetic'.

It pleasures us to be esoteric -
It's so intellectually atmospheric!
And though establishments may be unmoved,
Our vocabularies are much improved.

When the talk gets deep and you're feeling dumb
You can keep your shame to a minimum:
To show that you too are intelligent
Smugly ask, "is it really development?"

Or say, "That's fine in practice, but don't you see:
It doesn't work out in theory!"
A few may find this incomprehensible,
But most will admire you as deep and sensible.

Development Set homes are extremely chic,
Full of carvings, curios, and draped with batik.
Eye level photographs subtly assure
That your host is at home with the great and thepoor.

Enough of these verses - on with the mission!
Our task is as broad as the human condition!
Just pray God the biblical promise is true:
The poor ye shall always have with you.

Ross Coggins

Printed by Union Offset Co. Pty Ltd, Canberra.